MARYLAND
HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

The Abbey or Ringgold House
Chestertown, Kent County

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BALTIMORE

June · 1951

MARYLAND HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

A Quarterly

Volume XLVI JUNE, 1951 Number 2

EDMUND PENDLETON ON THE VIRGINIA RESOLVES

Edited by EDMUND S. MORGAN

ONE of the most tantalizing puzzles in American history is the question of what actually happened in the Virginia House of Burgesses on May 30 and 31, 1765, when Patrick Henry introduced the famous Virginia Resolves against the Stamp Act. Historians have sought the answers to this question for a hundred and fifty years but without remarkable success. One of the first to try was William Wirt, Henry's biographer. Wirt's *Life of Patrick Henry* was published in 1818, but he had been working on it for a number of years before, and in particular he had corresponded extensively with Jefferson about the events of May, 1765. Jefferson was one of the few men living who had been present at the House of Burgesses on the crucial days, though he was only a spectator and confined to the lobby, not a member of the House.

Working mainly from Jefferson's recollections and from tradi-

tion, Wirt reconstructed the scene and gave a dramatic picture of Henry's speech with its defiant conclusion, "If this be treason, make the most of it." The episode, already a part of the Revolutionary legend, became enshrined in a thousand school-books. It was not challenged until a contemporary account of the events, written by an anonymous French traveller, who had stood in the lobby with Jefferson and others, was published in 1921 in the *American Historical Review.* The Frenchman's account showed Henry's speech to have been considerably less defiant and dramatic than Wirt had pictured it. The discrepancy inevitably called attention to the fact that our entire knowledge of the episode, apart from the newly discovered Frenchman's account, depended on hearsay, on a later statement by Henry himself, and on the recollections of Jefferson and one or two others, which were forty to fifty years old when Wirt collected them.

Jefferson in a letter to Wirt in 1814 expressed his regret that no earlier effort had been made to get at the facts, while more of the participants were still alive. Jefferson probably did not realize that one attempt had been made, twenty-four years before, by his friend James Madison. Irving Brant, working on his life of Madison, discovered that Madison had written on April 4, 1790, to Edmund Pendleton, asking him for a full account of what had happened in the House of Burgesses, in particular "where the resolutions proposed by Mr. Henry *really* originated." The answer which Pendleton returned was missing from the Madison papers, but there were notes by Madison which indicated that it had been lent to William Wirt and never returned. Brant concluded that the letter must have been damaging to Henry's claims to fame and that Wirt, who was prepared to make a hero of Henry, had suppressed and destroyed it.[1] Brant's surmise now appears to be wrong, for Pendleton's letter, in a clear, neat hand, is reposing safely in the Library of the Maryland Historical Society. An extensive search of the records by Mr. Fred Shelley has failed to reveal how it got there and how long it has been there.[2]

[1] *James Madison, The Virginia Revolutionist* (New York, 1941), pp. 184-185.

[2] The letter is one of some 35 documents recorded as having been collected by John Pendleton Kennedy (1795-1870), Maryland author, editor, Congressman, and Secretary of the Navy. Mrs. William Wirt turned over to Kennedy various letters which had been in her husband's possession so that Kennedy could write his public oration or discourse on William Wirt, a 63-page pamphlet in 1834, the year of Wirt's death, and Kennedy's two volume life of Wirt published 15 years

The letter, which follows, will be a disappointment to historians who are looking for another eye-witness account. Brant was able to surmise from Madison's reply to the letter that Pendleton was not present at the events,[3] and so it turns out: Pendleton was among the large number of Burgesses who left before the end of the session and so missed the two crucial days of May 30 and 31. Pendleton's account, therefore, is hearsay, and hearsay remembered at a distance of twenty-five years. It is nevertheless worthy of consideration because of the great scarcity of other kinds of evidence.

The letter does not alter much our picture of the events. The version of Henry's speech is brief and traditional, and there is nothing said about what resolutions were passed or about the rescinding of any of them (another problem about which we need more evidence). The only point on which Pendleton's comments offer any new light is the authorship of the resolves. Henry claimed to have written the resolves and introduced them "alone, unadvised, and unassisted." This claim has long been contested. Edmund Randolph in a manuscript history of Virginia claimed that John Fleming was the author; and Jefferson attributed them to George Johnston.[4] Brant has pointed out that they were drawn in large part from the petitions of the preceding year,[5] which Pendleton had helped to draft. Carl Bridenbaugh has described Henry's move as part of a political manoeuvre by the Members from the upland counties.[6] Pendleton's letter, following the suggestion in Madison's inquiry, refers to the resolves as "attributed" to Henry and says that a number of gentlemen, including Henry, Colonel Munford, and George Johnson, "privately met and formed these Resolutions." This would seem to confirm the idea that Henry was not the sole author of the resolves. Other-

later. Probably the Pendleton letter was among these documents. As the Kennedy Papers went after his death to the Peabody Institute, it seems likely that Kennedy presented the 35 documents in question with one of his gifts to the Maryland Historical Society made during his lifetime. None of the gifts that are recorded in the Society's "donation books" through the year 1871 appears to include the letter, but this fact is not necessarily conclusive as many gifts are described in general terms.—EDITOR.

[3] Brant, *op. cit.*, p. 420.

[4] Randolph's history is in the Virginia Historical Society; Jefferson's attribution is in a letter to William Wirt, August 4, 1805, *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXXIV (1910), 389, but see also the letter of August 5, 1815, *ibid.*, 404.

[5] Brant, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

[6] *Seat of Empire: The Political Role of Eighteenth-Century Williamsburg* (Williamsburg, 1950).

wise this letter leaves our understanding of the Virginia Resolves about where it was before. The letter does contain, however, some interesting reflections on the conduct of Richard Henry Lee and on the attitude of the Negro slaves toward the Stamp Act. Pendleton's comments on the contemporary problem of assuming the state debts may be of interest to students of that subject. Though his position is what one might expect, his reasoning reveals the same concern for supporting the national government that his correspondent Madison had long maintained.

In transcribing the letter I have expanded abbreviations but have otherwise maintained the original spelling and punctuation.

Virginia April 21. 1790

Dear Sir

I am further Obliged by your favor of the 4th and two Packets of papers accompanying it. I congratulate you on having that ill-judged and improper measure of Assuming the State debts, 'ere this determined; and tho' a large Majority on so important a Subject was desirable, yet I shall be glad to hear it is finally negatived even by a decision from the Chair.

It has fix'd a Suspicion of a Government by a Junto. The Power of the General Government to make the General Assumption will be questioned, and evils of great Magnitude are to be apprehended from both. If the measure had extended only to an enquiry into the debts, which tho' created under the Authority of individual states, tended to promote the General Interest, and the Assumption of such, it would have been less exceptionable, tho' even then, liable to Objection, as affording an Opportunity for local partialities.

You cannot tax my duty or inclination too high by any requisition. I am only concerned that I cannot so fully gratify your wish as to the proceedings in Virginia respecting the Stamp Act, as you might expect, not being present in May 1765, when the resolutions attributed to Mr. Henry Passed the House.

You'l recollect that previous to that period, Our Assembly had by Petition to the King, Memorial to the Lords, and Remonstrance with the House of Commons, Attacked with Manly but decent language, the Power of Parliament to tax America.[7] In May 1765 when the business of the Session was Supposed to be over—except the concluding ceremonies, and many of the Members retired of which I was one, A Letter was received from Mr. Montague [8] the Agent inclosing a Copy of the Resolution of

[7] The documents are printed in John Pendleton Kennedy, ed., *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia 1761-1765* (Richmond, 1907) pp. 302-305.

[8] Edward Montague, an English barrister, was agent of the colony from 1761 to 1772. He represented primarily the interests of the House of Burgesses, for the Governor and Council had their own agent, James Abercrombie. Some of Montague's

the Lords (or of the Commons agreed to by the Lords) for imposing the Stamp duties, which being as a Master in Chancary, ordered to carry to the Commons, he had taken a Copy and immediately transmitted it. Upon this I have understood that some Gentlemen, of whom Mr. Henry, Colonel Munford [9] and Mr. George Johnston [10] were the Principal movers, privately met and formed those Resolutions which they produced and supported in the House upon what principles I know not being absent, I remember to have heard a Gentleman commend Mr. Henry's dexterity in playing on the line of treason, without passing it, and recollect to have heard a part of his Declamation on the Occasion "Caesar found a Brutus, Our Charles met with a Cromwell; And who knows but in this our day some Cromwell may arise and procure Us justice." I was informed that the Resolutions were Opposed by Mr. Robinson, Mr. Randolph, Mr. Nicholas [11] and indeed all the then leading members upon this ground that they were become unnecessary by the Petition and other papers formerly transmitted and might do mischief by the inflamitory terms in which they were drawn, and had better be softened if Any were judged necessary as a Warning to our Citizens against the Admission of the Stamps; However they passed in their Original form by a small Majority, and the Assembly was dissolved. Intelligence was soon after received of the Passage of the Act and the appointment of Colonel Mercer [12] to be the Pandora of the Box. He arrived during the Session of the General Court in October, when a Number of grave and respectable Gentlemen assembled without the smallest appearance of a Mob, and required his resignation and promise to carry or send back his Stamp'd paper without distributing any part.[13] After asking and obtaining time to consider it, he made a Satisfactory resignation and promise and an evening of festivity was spent. The Governor, Council and Assembly in 1763, had strongly

correspondence with the House of Burgesses is printed in *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* X-XII (1902-1905), but the letters for 1765 are missing.

[9] Robert Munford (ca. 1730-1784) representative from Mecklenburg County, future author of *The Candidates* and *The Patriots.*

[10] George Johnston (1700-1766), representative for Fairfax County, was credited by Jefferson with authorship of the resolves. Jefferson also said that he supported them in the House with "solid reasoning." *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* XXXIV (1910), 389.

[11] John Robinson was both Speaker of the House and Treasurer of the Colony. When he died in 1766, it was found that he had loaned public funds to his friends, and as a result of the scandal the offices of Speaker and Treasurer were divided. Peyton Randolph, hitherto King's Attorney, obtained the Speakership, and Robert Carter Nicholas became Treasurer. Jefferson's account concurs with Pendleton's in placing Robinson, Randolph, and Nicholas as opponents of Henry's resolves. Randolph had served, along with Pendleton himself, on the committee which drew up the petition, memorial, and remonstrance of the previous year.

[12] George Mercer was in England when the Stamp Act was passed and secured appointment as Distributor of Stamps for Virginia, possibly through Benjamin Franklin. See a letter from Mercer to Franklin, in the Franklin Papers (American Philosphical Society), vol. I, no. 132, April 4, 1765.

[13] A detailed account of the gathering which forced Mercer to resign may be found in Governor Fauquier's letter to the Board of Trade Nov. 3, 1765, part of which is printed in *Journals of the House of Burgesses 1761-1765,* lxviii-lxxi.

recommended Colonel Mercer to the King's favor for his bravery in the preceeding War; Hence I suppose that Administration had counted upon his appointment, as a means of assisting their purpose; but they were mistaken, not a friend was gained by that step, unless among his personal connections who never avowed it, tho' there were many who did not think him so blaimable, in the Acceptance, (as at that distance he could not know the sense of his Countrey, or concieve that the measure would at all depend upon the Appointment of him or another) as those did who burnt his Effigies in different parts of the State; especially since he knew that a Gentleman of consequence in Virginia had Sollicited the Office [14]— tell it not in Gath! Spread it not in the Streets of Askalon! that the same Gentleman was active in the incendiary stigma, as well as in the March of about 600 men to Tappahannock to attack a certain Archibald Ritchie and prevent him from using Stamped paper in clearing out a Vessel, without which he was advised she would be forfeited; in which however I mean not to arraign the measure, but the number emploied and the Parade and noise on the Occasion, as well as the improper leader of it.

I know there are diversity of sentiments on the comparative merit of the firm but decent representations to the King and Parliament; and these paper'd resolutions, as well as between the Cool and deliberate proceedings of some friends to America in the beginning of the Conflict, and the impetuosity of others who seem'd disposed to precipitate the War. I am one of those who always allowed some degree of merit to those resolutions, and warmth of temper, but who ever thought and still think that too much was attributed to them, and that our Success was produced by the papers and Conduct of a different cast, which carried our serious Yeomanry so firmly through the Struggle, a dispute however now of no consequence, except when used to give a wrong impression of consequential Characters. I recollect no other Annecdote on the Occasion, unless it will amuse you to mention a law question refer'd by the Judges of the General Court to the Bar *i.* e. whether the words for the commencement of the Act, " from and after the first of November " were to include or exclude that day? The learned Gentlemen consulting rigid distinctions in musty law books, rather than common sense, gave an Opinion of an Oracular kind, which the Judges disregarding, adopted the inclusive interpretation, and adjourned to the next term without doing any business on that day. may I add, as it is fashionable to puff away the Magnanimity and what not of a certain race of men, two African annecdotes, one of an old man who attended one of the Effigies, and when it was reduced to Ashes Addressed it thus " Aha! you want to Stampy us,

[14] Richard Henry Lee, when he first heard that a Stamp Act was being considered, solicited the position which was given to Mercer. Mercer's brother James later contended that Lee continued to seek the office until Mercer was appointed, while Lee claimed that he recalled his request for the office as soon as he had time to consider the pernicious character of the Stamp Act. (see *Virginia Gazette*, Purdie and Dixon, Oct. 3, 1766). In any case Lee became the moving spirit of the Virginia Sons of Liberty. For the attack on Archibald Ritchie, mentioned below, see the *Maryland Gazette*, March 27, 1766.

do you? damme me Stampy you " and plunged his foot into the Ashes[.] the other on the night of Mercer's resignation, staggering through the Streets from the Toddy given the Populace, Huzza'd " Liberty and property and no Stamps." By the by, is it kind in our Northern friends who are fortunately out of the scrape, by these daily publications On that disagreable subject to hold out their Southern brethren to the world as Monsters of Tyrany and Oppression, because they can't make so great a Sacrifice of property fairly purchased by them under an unlucky policy, in which they had no hand? I can see no instances in which they manifest a promptitude to make such Sacrifices.

Whilst writing your favor of the 13th was handed me, and I feel pleasure at the Rejection of the Assumption of the state debts, not only from it's demerits, but it may lessen the Suspicions of a Junto rule, when they see it don't constantly prevail. I know the perservering temper of the East, and that they will bring on the Question in every possible shape— I hope they'l meet disappointment in all. I am

Dear Sir Most Affectionately Yours

Edmund Pendleton

Honorable J. Madison jr.

COMMENT ON THE PENDLETON LETTER

By Irving Brant

When Madison asked Edmund Pendleton, in 1790, to tell him where the 1765 Stamp Act resolutions proposed by Patrick Henry "*really* originated," he was not feeling very friendly toward the great orator. Mr. Henry, stung by his failure to defeat Virginia's ratification of the new Federal Constitution, had used his control of the legislature late in 1788 to thwart Madison's election to the United States Senate. He then induced the Assembly to gerrymander (a word as yet unknown) Madison's congressional district in a vain effort to keep him out of the House of Representatives.[1] In the fall of 1789, Henry helped to block the state's ratification of the first ten amendments to the Constitution. Madison regarded this as part of the general war on the federal government, and his antipathy was sharpened when Henry came before the public in 1790 as organizer of a Yazoo land speculation whose

[1] George Lee Turberville to Madison, October 27, November 10, 1788, New York Public Library.

success was thought to be menaced by the supremacy of federal over state power in dealing with the Creek Indians.[2]

Pendleton's reply to the inquiry about Henry, which Mr. Morgan has brought to light after so many years, was sent by Madison to William Wirt in response to a request made in July 1815. With the return of peace, Wirt suggested, Madison might give his mind "a holy day of rest" by recalling and noting briefly whatever would aid the Henry biography. In particular, could he explain the '76 and '81 projects for making Henry a dictator over Virginia? Recalling that Madison was a member of the 1776 Assembly, Wirt asked if he could tell who were the authors of the scheme and particularly "whether Mr. Henry himself was at the bottom of them or in any way privy and consenting to them."[3]

Madison's reply, which has disappeared, apparently was noncommittal or indecisively negative. In his book, Wirt wrote only that he had "met with no one who will venture to affirm" Henry's approval of the 1776 project, whereas in the second instance (growing out of Tarleton's raid), the replies from surviving members of the 1781 legislature had "resulted in a conviction of his entire innocence."[4]

Madison sent him, however, at least two and perhaps more letters written by Pendleton, including the one of April 21, 1790. Why did Wirt suppress that letter, which furnished the only (then) known account of the 1765 proceedings written early enough to escape the weaknesses of age and legend? The reason can be deduced from the letter itself, and perhaps from what Wirt wrote to Jefferson in the course of correspondence about the biography:

> "You will observe that I have trodden very lightly on the errors of Mr. Henry's declining years. He did us much good in his better days, and no evil has resulted from his later aberrations. Will not his biographer then be excused in forgetting them, and holding up the brighter side of his character only, to imitation."[5]

When biography is written to hold up the bright side only, it is just as useful to exaggerate early brightness as to omit later

[2] Brant, *James Madison, Father of the Constitution* (New York, 1950), pp. 194, 286.
[3] William Wirt to Madison, July 23, 1815, Rives Papers, Library of Congress.
[4] Wirt, *Life and Character of Patrick Henry* (1818), pp. 204, 231.
[5] Wirt to Jefferson, October 23, 1816, Wirt Papers, Library of Congress.

shadows, and the process is the same. Had he used the Pendleton letter, Wirt would have been forced to present two accounts of the part his hero played. There would have been Henry's statement in a posthumously found memorandum that he wrote the resolves "alone, unadvised and unassisted." Casting a shadow on this would be Pendleton's understanding that "some gentlemen, of whom Mr. Henry, Colonel Munford and Mr. George Johnson were the principal movers, privately met and formed those resolutions." Instead of letting people read both statements and take their choice, Wirt quoted Jefferson's recollection, after a lapse of fifty years, that "Mr. Henry moved and Mr. Johnson seconded these resolutions," and asserted in a footnote of his own: "The report of the day, that Mr. Johnston drew the resolutions, is certainly unfounded." [6]

In the second place, Pendleton recalled the praise he had heard of "Mr. Henry's dexterity in playing on the line of treason, without passing it." Like the later-discovered journal of the French eyewitness, his account omitted the legendary defiance ("If this be treason . . .") in which the line was crossed. Finally, had the letter been published by Wirt, the disclosure that Pendleton left Williamsburg before the debate began would have discounted the accuracy of Jefferson's account, which made Pendleton one of the leading opposition debaters. By failing to present Pendleton's own disproof of this error, Wirt violated the spirit of a promise he made to Jefferson "that everything personal to Mr. Pendleton should be stricken out" of the manuscript.[7] The tone of the biography, before its final revision, must have reflected sharply the lifelong antagonism between Henry and Pendleton, the former of whom began as a radical and wound up as an extreme conservative, while the latter began as a conservative and became at last a moderate radical. The hostility between them reached its height in the 1780's, when Henry fought unavailingly against the Jefferson-Pendleton-Wythe revisal of Virginia laws, but succeeded in defeating Pendleton's system of court reform, both of which programs were under Madison's charge in the legislature. They

[6] Wirt, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 n, 60.

[7] In his letter of October 23, 1816, (note 5, above) Wirt wrote: "My other friends concur in the opinion that everything personal to Mr. Pendleton should be stricken out; and I shall do it with the greater pleasure, because it would have been very painful to me, had I found it my duty to cast a shade upon his memory."

were even at odds over Federal assumption of state war debts. While Pendleton was rejoicing in this letter over its temporary defeat of assumption, Henry was piling up defaulted Georgia securities at a few cents on the dollar, with which to pay for Yazoo lands. He did not get the lands but became wealthy when the securities were taken up at face value by the United States, under the Hamilton funding system.[8]

From the standpoint of a Henry partisan, there was ample reason to say nothing about the Pendleton Stamp Act letter. But it is hard to escape the inference that there was some connection between Wirt's failure to use it and Madison's inability to get it back.[9]

[8] Brant, *op. cit.*, 194, 431.

[9] On the draft of his April 4, 1790, letter to Pendleton, Madison pencilled: "The answer of Mr. P. was sent to Mr. Wirt when collecting materials for his life of P. H. and not returned." A similar note was pencilled on the draft of the May 2, 1790, letter acknowledging Pendleton's answer: "As yet in the hands of Mr. Wirt." (Madison MSS, XIII, 3, 18, Library of Congress.) On May 5, 1828, forwarding a letter from "Mr. Eppes," Madison asked leave "to remind you of the letters from Mr. Pendleton," whose return he desired to close a gap in his files. Wirt's failure to comply with this request, though not the reason for it, is disclosed in a memorandum in the handwriting of Anna Cutts, Dolley Madison's niece. Following the closely consecutive deaths of Madison and Wirt, the latter's widow asked for a return of his letters. A list of those sent on August 30, 1837, contains this entry: "May 19th 1828—returning Mr. Eppes' letter, and speaking of those of Mr. Pendleton loaned him.' The returned correspondence is not in the Wirt Papers in the Library of Congress.

THE ABBEY, OR RINGGOLD HOUSE, AT CHESTERTOWN, MARYLAND[1]

By RAYMOND B. CLARK, JR.

A VISITOR crossing the Chester River bridge sees the lawns and waterfronts of a row of handsome brick houses which line one side of Chestertown's main residential street, appropriately known as Water Street[2] similar, perhaps to Newcastle, Delaware. Standing on a rise near the end of the street, The Abbey, or Ringgold House, one of the best surviving examples of colonial architecture on the Eastern Shore, is partially obscured from view. Although some distance away from the homes built mostly before the Revolution by merchants and planters, depending in size and detail on their wealth and position, and in some cases owned today by descendants of the original builders, this two-story brick house, that is the subject of this article, stands at the corner of Cannon Street, facing Water Street with an uninterrupted view of the Chester River beyond.

The Abbey is typically a town house. Chestertown, a thriving port, and the social center of the Eastern Shore just prior to the Revolution and after, considered herself a rival of Annapolis. Consequently this house was the scene of many entertainments. Curiously, its name has never been explained. How or when this designation with its religious connotation was first applied has not been discovered though there is said to be record of its use for a century or more. Many now prefer to call it the Ringgold

[1] The house is briefly described in Paul Wilstach's *Tidewater Maryland* (Indianapolis, 1931); Swepson Earle, *The Chesapeake Bay Country* (Baltimore, 1923); *Maryland Gardens and Homes,* compiled by Elizabeth Fisk Clapp, Charleton Merrick Gillet, and Romaine McI. Randall (Baltimore, 1938). A fuller account is in Katherine Scarborough's *Homes of the Cavaliers* (New York, 1930). Most of the following account was secured by observation and personal interviews of the author. Grateful acknowledgment is made to Mr. Wilbur Ross Hubbard, Mrs. Gilbert W. Mead, and the Editor for assistance in preparing the article.

[2] The formal name of the street is Front, but many residents follow ancient custom in saying Water Street.

House after the owner who gave it its present form and distinction. Some speak of it as the Pearce house, since the famous Maryland Senator, James Alfred Pearce, was a later owner of the property.

Thomas Ringgold, a prosperous 18th century merchant, in 1767 bought two separate brick residences, one fronting on Water Street and the other in its rear, facing on Cannon Street. He then built a new structure to connect the two, thus reversing the usual plan of plantation mansions, where a central block is flanked on both sides by smaller wings. It is assumed that the panelling was installed at the time of these changes. The house is thus in three parts, with the Water Street section the major part. Ringgold also bought two waterfront lots (20 and 21), landscaped them, and enclosed the garden, which then exceeded its present boundaries, with a high but attractive brick wall.

The earliest section of the house is at the rear. It was probably built by Nathaniel Palmer about 1740.[3] It is an excellent example of early architecture and originally contained a hall and three rooms downstairs. One of these rooms was the kitchen and still contains the old fireplace with the original cranes and pot-hooks in place. Unfortunately this room has been somewhat marred by alterations, but it is planned eventually to restore it to its original condition, recreating the room around the fireplace.

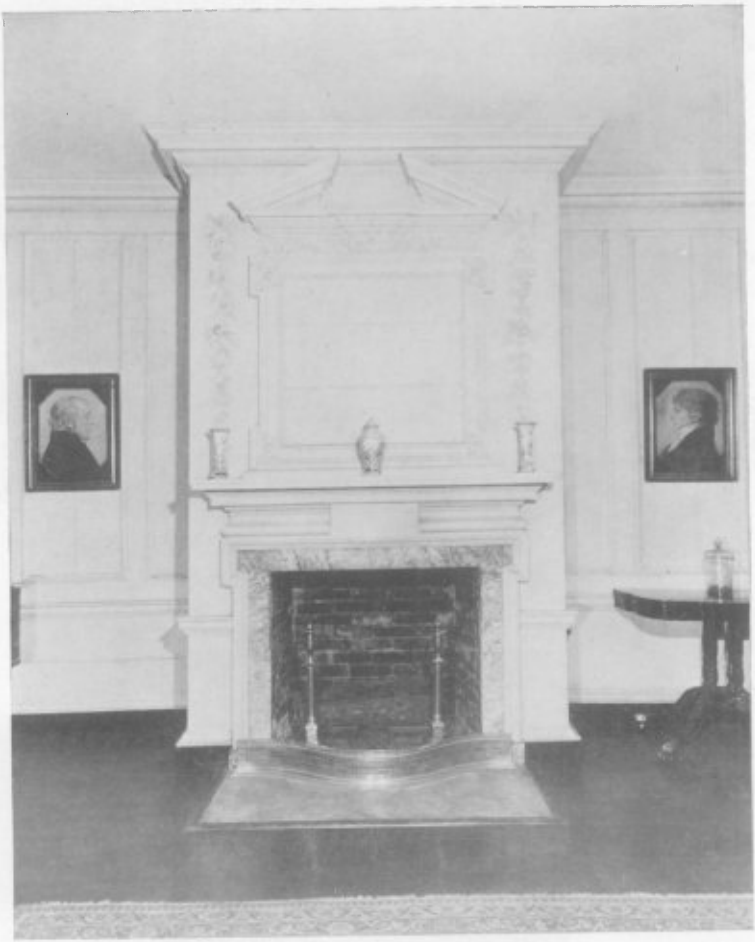
The front of the house facing on Water Street has an excellent Georgian facade. Its stone portico with Ionic columns is, however, a comparatively recent addition. This portion was built probably by 1743 by Nathaniel Hynson and contains a paneled entrance hall.[4] The drawing room on the right was completely paneled and had a beautifully carved overmantel and unusual treatment over the doorways. The paneling from this room was bought in 1932 for the Baltimore Museum of Art where it is installed as one of the principal ornaments of the Maryland Wing. A reproduction of this beautiful interior has replaced the original. The latter will be described below.

[3] Nathaniel Palmer, merchant, purchased one-half of Chestehtown Iot # 6, as is evidenced by an early deed (Liber # 5, Kent County, f. 83) from Henry Cully, trader, for £ 20/10 on July 29, 1737, and built his home facing Cannon Street which intersected Water Street. By April 6, 1743, he had sold the half lot and building to John Brett, mariner, of Norfolk, Virginia, for £ 50 (Liber # 5, f. 600).

[4] Nathaniel Hynson, Jr., built his house on the other half of Lot # 6 (see note 3) but sold his interest, the "Westernmost moiety," to Dr. William Murray, "Churgeon," on December 6, 1743, for £ 60 (Liber # 6, f. 43). In 1758 Murray bought the other half from Brett (Liber # 6, f. 48).

THE ABBEY OR RINGGOLD HOUSE—FROM THE GARDEN

TWO VIEWS OF THE "ANTLER" STAIRCASE

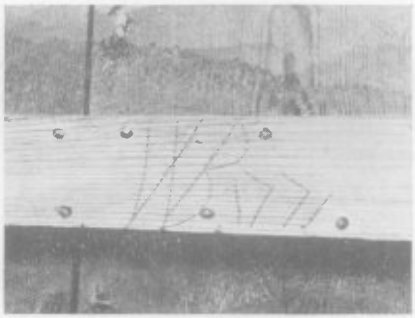


FIREPLACE AND PANELING IN THE "CHESTERTOWN ROOM"

Courtesy Baltimore Museum of Art

GENERAL VIEW OF "CHESTERTOWN ROOM"

Courtesy Baltimore Museum of Art



The Initials and Date Found When the Paneling Was Installed in the Maryland Wing of the Baltimore Museum of Art

Courtesy Baltimore Museum of Art

Across the hall is a large room, the private drawing room, also completely paneled, and painted a grey-blue, but in simpler design. The lack of a mantel-shelf implies the early date of the work. Above the fireplace there are three horizontal panels. Beginning with a large one at the top these panels decrease in width toward the fireplace, and the lowest space is divided vertically into two parts. Fluted pilasters on either side of the fireplace extend from floor to ceiling. On the left of the fireplace there is an attractive cupboard with double doors and coved ceiling. It is apparent that it was matched originally by a corresponding cupboard on the right, but unfortunately one of the owners altered its interior to make bookshelves. The doors, however, remain and a full restoration of the original is anticipated. The windows on this floor, except in the other drawing room, as also those on the second floor, are graced by window seats and inside paneled shutters. Much original hardware is in the house. The lighting fixtures were another example of an innovation of an owner.

From the hallway the visitor leaves the "Hynson" house through an arched doorway leading into the "new" stair-hall. On the right he overlooks the extensive garden, while on the left is the unusual and beautiful double stairway. The famous staircase is of the "antler" type, having double wings leading to the landing. The walnut stair-rail is in the delicate molded design seen in the Hammond-Harwood house and elsewhere in Maryland. The steps are of solid walnut. The fireplace under the landing is a modern addition, replacing the original street entrance, or carriage door, of the house. The garden door opposite the fireplace has the original hinges and a steel spring-lock with brass knobs.[5]

Beyond the doorway a corridor along the garden side of the house leads to the dining-room on the left, a charming room of smaller proportions, with inviting greenish-gray walls. Next to it is the breakfast room and beyond it the modern kitchen. From the latter a door leads to the old kitchen, which served in the recent past as a carriage house and garage. The breakfast room, the present kitchen and the old kitchen are in the early house built by Palmer.

A small "hidden stairway," not infrequently found in the

[5] On one of the steel escutcheons is the name "W. M. Brat." The initials "I. S." are found on another.

well-built homes of this era as a necessary convenience in case of an emergency, was behind the dining room chimney but was entered from the breakfast room. It was removed when the house was undergoing repairs in 1916-17. Evidence remains today in the corner and ceiling of the breakfast room.

The second floor is patterned after the first floor with two master bedrooms and hall with bath over the drawing rooms and entrance hall. These rooms likewise have paneling and fireplaces. The room over the drawing room is paneled in plaster except the fireplace end which is paneled in wood. Above the dining room is the library. Bedrooms, baths, and a spacious sitting room, or upper stair hall, occupy the remainder of this floor. The house has a large cellar, and there are generous attics in all parts of the house.

As a memorial to the late John Hemsley Johnson (1861-1927) the paneling from the drawing room in The Abbey, or Ringgold House, was purchased in 1932 by Mrs. Johnson and installed at her expense in the Maryland Wing of the Baltimore Museum of Art. Beautifully restored and largely furnished with pieces of the Chippendale period, this room is now known as the "Chestertown Room." It is a distinguished example of Maryland craftsmanship.

The room measures 21 feet 2 inches in length, 12 feet 10 inches in width with a ceiling height of 10 feet. The paneling is of pine painted white. The doors are also of pine but stained to resemble mahogany. The feature of the room is the overmantel above the gray veined Prince of Prussia marble facing of the fireplace. The narrow mantel shelf is supported by an interestingly designed series of heavy moulding. Above is a large eared rectangular panel surmounted by an ornamented frieze. A classical broken pediment of exquisite workmanship fills the remaining space beneath the finely moulded cornice. The dentils of the pediment form a Wall of Troy design which is deeply cut in a slanting direction, not at right angles to the face, and symmetrical on the center line of the pediment. The same oblique work is continued in the cornice of the entire room. This unusual pattern is to be seen in a few other Maryland houses. Above the two doors, one of which is a false door to preserve the symmetry of the room, are elaborately carved friezes and cornices. There is a chair rail along the walls.

The frieze above the panel above the fireplace and the plain surfaces to right and left of it are decorated with sophisticated designs in carved wood. The decoration on each side consists of a large bow-knot from which falls an elaborate swag of flowers and fruits. In the frieze this ornamentation consists of formalized foliage except in the projecting center panel where a pictorial rendering of some classical story has been carved. There is a tree in the center, a swan or goose at left bearing a branch and a seemingly Oriental house at right. Tradition has called this Noah's Ark with the dove and olive branch, out of which has grown the mistaken idea that it somehow represents the Ark and the Dove, vessels that brought the first settlers to Maryland.[6]

When the paneling was taken down for removal to its present location there was found incised, as if by a chisel, on the reverse side of a board the initials " WB " in cipher and the date 1771. This has given rise to the presumption that William Buckland was the designer of the room. While complete proof is lacking, there is a strong probability that Buckland is responsible for the work. In the first place the overall design and the details of ornamentation are similar to his work in Annapolis. Furthermore, the date is within the brief period, 1771 to 1774, when he was living in Maryland.[7] There is at least one known case when he signed his name " W. Buckland " with the " W " and " B " conjoined.

Since the restoration of Ringgold House, the Baltimore Museum of Art has lent from its collections appropriate furnishings for the room including Chippendale side chairs, an 1820 James Stewart spinet, a game table, and a Chippendale mirror. Interested persons have lent andirons, hurricane lamps, a card table, Cantonese plates, and a Lowestoft bowl. The secretary and desk set, among the pieces which belonged to the Pearce family, are in this room between the front window and the entrance to the room from the hall. The windows, with small, very wrinkled panes, are the only ones in the entire house without window seats. The floor of this room is the only new one in the house.

[6] Another disinguished house built by a member of this family, the Ringgold house in Long Green Valley, Baltimore County, also has hand carved mantels of unusual beauty. Though the decorations here do not employ the identical motifs seen in the Chestertown Room, they indicate the interest of the Ringgold family in architectural embellishment.

[7] See " New Light on William Buckland " by Dr. James Bordley, Jr., pp. 153-154, which shows that Buckland worked in Maryland before 1771.—EDITOR.

Many persons have, of course, found shelter in the Ringgold House. Varied facets in the history of the house are revealed by the accounts of some of the prominent occupants. Thomas Ringgold, the builder, was very active in affairs before and during the American Revolution. He was appointed with Colonel Edward Tilghman and William Murdock by the Maryland Assembly to represent the colony in New York at the Stamp Act Congress in 1765 [8] and was one of the authors of a series of resolutions on Constitutional rights and privileges of Freemen of the colonies, which were accepted by the Congress. He was a member of several sessions of the Maryland Legislature between 1762 and 1768 [9] and served as a delegate to the convention which framed Maryland's first constitution.[10] Benjamin Franklin after his 1754 visit to Maryland asked him to be the Eastern Shore representative for subscriptions for the *Pennsylvania Gazette*.[11]

The first Thomas Ringgold, born in 1609 and the progenitor of the line in Maryland, is said to have emigrated from England and first settled in the colony of Virginia. He removed to Kent Island in Maryland about 1650, a widower with two children, James and John. He purchased a tract of land of 1,000 acres called "Cox's Neck" (in Queen Anne's County today), and on July 17, 1659, a tract of 1,200 acres called "Hunting Fields" was surveyed and patented to him on the west side of the Chester River in Kent County. He served as one of the justices of the county court for Kent County in 1651 when Captain Robert Vaughan was commander and is listed among the inhabitants of Kent in 1652.[12] Appointed by Richard Bennett, Edward Courtiss, and William Claiborne as one of nine to govern Kent Island in 1652, he also with Philip Connor was to be one of any court of action.

Major James Ringgold, son of Thomas Ringgold, owner of the manor in Eastern Neck, part owner of the Hunting Fields estate, had a smaller 150 acre tract surveyed for him on March 24, 1665, as "Ringgold's Fortune" which was on the north side of Chester

[8] Paul H. Giddens, "Maryland, the Stamp Act Controversy," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXVIII (1932), 79-98. Also cited in Esther Mohr Dole, *Maryland During the Revolution* (Chestertown, 1941).

[9] George A. Hanson, *Old Kent* (Baltimore, 1876), p. 66.

[10] *Maryland Manual*, 1948-1949, pp. 382-383.

[11] Joseph T. Wheeler, "Bookselling and Circulating Libraries in Colonial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXIV (1939), 137.

[12] *Archives of Maryland*, LIV, 4-5, and M. P. Andrews, *Tercentenary History of Maryland* (Chicago, 1925), IV, 193-194.

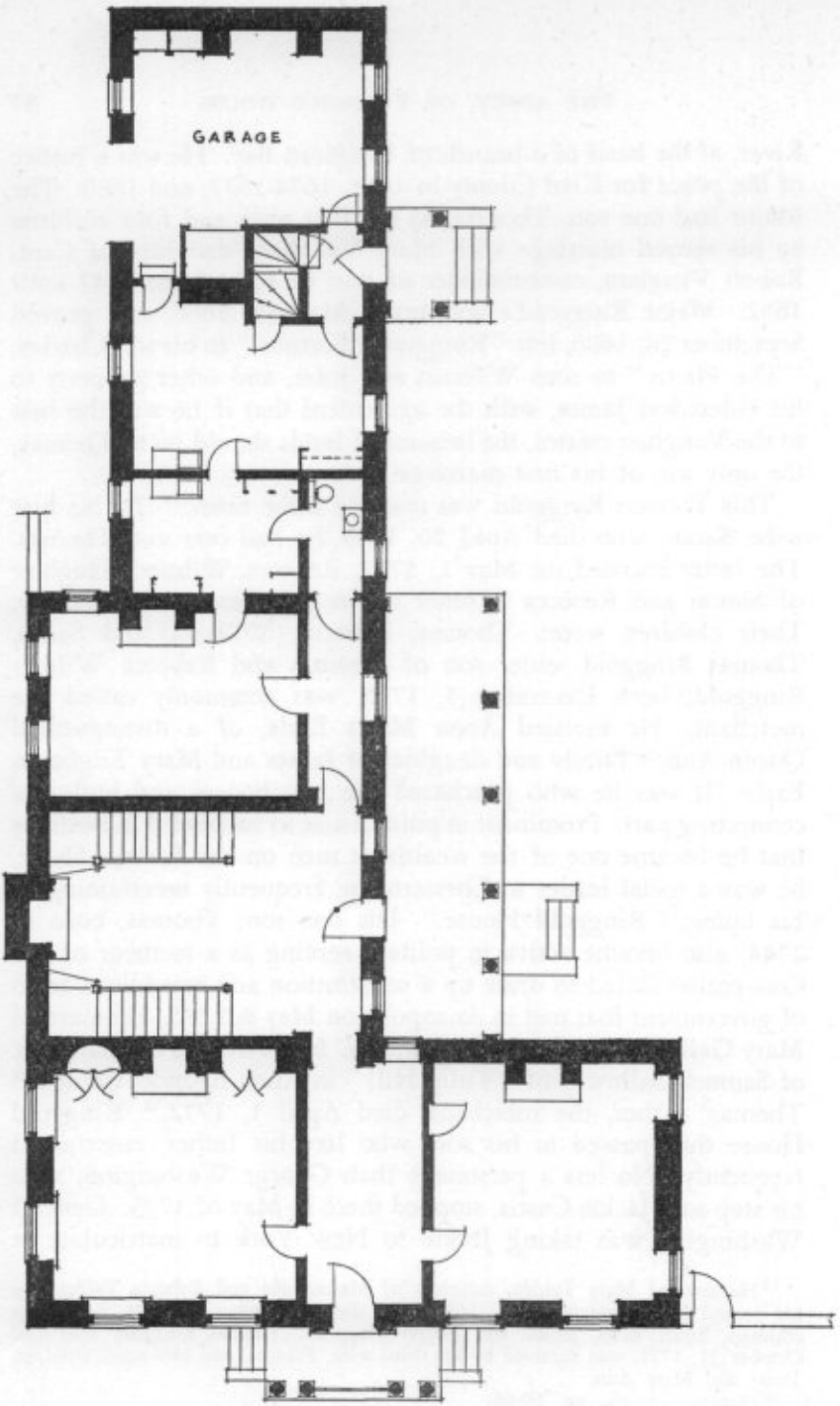
River, at the head of a branch of Langford Bay. He was a justice of the peace for Kent County in 1661, 1674-1677, and 1680. The Major had one son, Thomas, by his first wife and four children by his second marriage with Mary Vaughan, daughter of Capt. Robert Vaughan, commissioner of port of Kent from 1647 until 1652. Major Ringgold's will made May 18, 1686, and proved September 28, 1686, left " Ringgold's Fortune " to his son Charles, " The Plains " to sons William and John, and other property to his eldest son James, with the agreement that if he was the heir to the Vaughan estates, the bequest of lands should go to Thomas, the only son of his first marriage.

This Thomas Ringgold was married three times.[13] By his first wife, Sarah, who died April 20, 1699, he had one son, Thomas. The latter married on May 1, 1712, Rebecca Wilmer, daughter of Simon and Rebecca Wilmer of an old Kent County family. Their children were: Thomas, Rebecca, William, and Sarah. Thomas Ringgold, elder son of Thomas and Rebecca Wilmer Ringgold, born December 5, 1715, was commonly called the merchant. He married Anna Maria Earle, of a distinguished Queen Anne's family and daughter of James and Mary Tilghman Earle. It was he who purchased the two houses and built the connecting part. Prominent in politics and so successful in business that he became one of the wealthiest men on the Eastern Shore, he was a social leader in Chestertown, frequently entertaining at his home, " Ringgold House." His one son, Thomas, born in 1744, also became active in politics, serving as a member of the Convention called to draw up a constitution and republican form of government that met in Annapolis on May 8, 1776. He married Mary Galloway and had four children. His wife was the daughter of Samuel Galloway of " Tulip Hill " in Anne Arundel County.[14] Thomas' father, the merchant, died April 1, 1772.[15] Ringgold House thus passed to his son, who like his father, entertained frequently. No less a personage than George Washington, with his step-son, Jackie Custis, stopped there in May of 1773. General Washington was taking Jackie to New York to matriculate at

[13] He married Mary Tylden, daughter of Marmaduke and Rebecca Tylden, for his second wife, September 17, 1699. She died September 9, 1798, leaving as children, Sarah, Elias, James, and Joseph Ringgold. Thomas Ringgold who died October 11, 1711, was survived by his third wife, Frances, and two small shildren, Josias and Mary Ann.

[14] Hanson, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-66.

[15] Will made February 8, 1768, but proven April 10, 1772.



FLOOR PLAN OF THE ABBEY OR RINGGOLD HOUSE

Courtesy Mr. Henry Powell Hopkins

The garage and two rooms at the top of drawing formed the "Palmer House." The "Hynson House" consisted of the two large rooms and hallway shown in lower part of drawing.

King's College. An entry in his diary for May 13, 1773 reads: "Dind on Board the Annapolis at Chester Town, and supped and lodgd at Ringold's." [16]

Thomas Ringgold died October 26, 1776, at the early age of 32. His will, probated December 6, 1776, attested to his wealth. He owned property in Frederick and Queen Anne's counties and several lots in Chestertown.[17] His mother, the former Anna Maria Earle, lived until 1794 at Ringgold House where she died at the age of 70. Her will, proved July 15, 1794, mentioned her daughter-in-law, Mary Galloway, and her grandchildren in addition to her brothers, sisters, and their families.[18]

Included in the will of William Ringgold, formerly of Queen Anne's County but now (1798) a resident of Kent County, was mention of Charlotte Spencer, his wife, Isaac Spencer, his father-in-law, Thomas Ringgold, son of his brother Thomas, now both dead, and Jarvis and Charlotte Ringgold, his children. His executors were Charlotte and William Spencer.[19]

From the younger Thomas the property seems to have passed to his brother William, who had married Charlotte Spencer, daughter of Isaac Spencer.[20] The trustees of William Ringgold sold the property, consisting of lots 6, part of 7, 20, 21, and part of 10 to James E. Barroll in 1834.[21] In 1854 the Barroll interests sold the Ringgold property to James A. Pearce.[22]

Senator James Alfred Pearce, son of Gideon and Julia Dick Pearce, was born, December 14, 1805, at the home of his maternal grandfather, Dr. Elisha Cullen Dick, in Alexandria (then part of the District of Columbia).[23] Young Pearce spent his childhood

[16] John C. Fitzaptrick (ed.), *Diaries of George Washington, 1748-1799* (Boston, 1925), II, 111. Thomas Ringgold had "dined and lodgd" at Mount Vernon on March 23, 1771. *Ibid.*, II, 11.

[17] His will was made February 15, 1774. Liber # 5, f. 230. Mentioned in *Maryland Calendar of Wills,* compiled and edited by Jane Baldwin Cotton and Robert Boiling Cotton (Baltimore, 1901).

[18] Sarah Elisabeth Stuart, *Kent County Calendar of Wills*, II, 336. Liber # 7, f. 436.

[19] *Ibid.*, IV, 448. Liber # 7, f. 617.

[20] *Ibid.*, III, 150. Will made May 20, 1783, probated July 21, 1785.

[21] Liber J. N. G., # 4, f. 219-221.

[22] Liber J. F. G., # 2, f. 265.

[23] Senator Pearce was a descendant in the fifth generation from William Pearce who emigrated from Scotland to the Eastern Shore of Maryland about 1670 and later became sheriff of Cecil County. Gideon Pearce, of Georgetown, Kent County, was a farmer, well-educated, and "of more than ordinary personal attractions and accomplishments, but so sanguine in temperament and visionary in character that most of his enterprises ended in disappointment and pecuniary disaster." His sense of honor and temper involved him in a duel in Maryland and another in Louisiana,

at the home of his grandfather and at "Colchester," the home of his uncle, James Pearce, on the Sassafras River, near Georgetown. His uncle married late in life and had no children; so his nephew took the place of a son and lived there during recesses in college and for a short time afterwards. The details of his education were closely superintended by his grandfather. At the age of fourteen, in 1819, he entered Princeton from which he received in 1822 an M. A. degree.

After his graduation from Princeton Pearce studied law and was admitted to the Maryland Bar in 1824. He practiced one year in Cambridge, county seat of Dorchester County, before joining his father in Louisiana in managing a sugar plantation on the Red River. Returning three years later, he established a residence at Chestertown and opened a law office. He married Martha J. Laird, of Cambridge, October 6, 1829.[24] After the death of Mrs. Pearce, he married Matilda C. Ringgold, daughter of Richard W. Ringgold, in 1847.

In 1831 he began his career of public service by running on the Whig ticket for delegate to the General Assembly, a position which he won. He was elected a Congressman from his district and served from 1835 to 1839 and from 1841 to 1843. Pearce was advanced to the U. S. Senate in 1843 where he served until his death in 1862. Offered a federal judgeship and a cabinet post as Secretary of the Interior by President Fillmore, Pearce refused on the grounds that he was of greater service as a Senator.

He was too much a gentleman and too much opposed to all embellishments of oratory to have made for himself a great name as an orator. His speeches were few but scholarly and carried great weight among his colleagues. His views on finance were always well received. He was all his life a student and his broad culture and background made him a supporter in every matter relative to education and science, and it is probably in this connection that he performed his best services as a Senator. As chairman of the Committee on the Library he was responsible for the augmented fund for books and supplies for the Library of Con-

in which he was critically wounded. He farmed until 1822 in Kent County when he went to Louisiana and engaged in sugar planting. He made only one visit back to Maryland. He moved to Warsaw, Missouri, where he died November 5, 1851. Julia Dick Pearce, the Senator's mother, died in 1808 in Alexandria when he was three, leaving also an infant daughter, Opelia.

[24] They had two daughters and a son. Catherine Julia married Dr. J. L. Burris of Louisa County, Virginia. Charlotte Augusta Lenox married Arthur Crisfield of Washington, D. C.

gress. Senator Pearce's fine library, with that of his son, the judge, was given to Washington College. Pearce actively supported such institutions and projects as the Smithsonian Institution, serving as a member of the Board of Regents and Executive Committee, the Botanical Gardens, and the Coast Survey. His annual reports on the latter agency were definitive. The architects, painters, sculptors, and others working on the completion and extension of the Capitol Building and other public buildings in Washington found in Pearce an enlightened supporter of their works. Probably most famous for his amendment to Henry Clay's compromise bill of 1850, and his stand on the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, he was considered advanced because of his views on Oregon boundary dispute and the spoils system. Opposed to secession but equally against the maintenance of a union by force, Senator Pearce bitterly denounced in his last speeches the efforts of the Lincoln administration to curb arbitrarily civil rights in Maryland.[25]

James A. Pearce, Jr., only son of Senator and Mrs. Pearce, was born April 2, 1840, at Chestertown. After attending Washington College, he was graduated from Princeton in 1859. He then read law, taught at Washington College, and was admitted to the bar in 1864. He returned to Chestertown from Baltimore where he won instant success as a lawyer. In 1867 he was elected State's Attorney and served until 1875. In 1895 he was the Democratic candidate for state senator, but was defeated in the first Republican victory in 30 years. On November 1, 1866, he married Eunice Rasin, eldest daughter of Unit Rasin and Martha Hanson Rasin, a lineal descendant of John Hanson, President of Continental Congress, 1781-1782. Identified with many professional and civic affairs in Chestertown, James Alfred Pearce, Jr., was elected Chief Justice of the Second Circuit in 1897. He also served on the Maryland Court of Appeals from which he retired

[25] In addition to the sketch of Senator Pearce in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, XIV, 352-353, and the *Biographical Directory of the American Congress* (1928), p. 1394, there were two monographs printed shortly after his death: *Address on the Death of the Honorable James A. Pearce, delivered in the Senate and House of Representatives on Tuesday January 13, 1863* (Washington, 1863); and the eulogy delivered by Professor A. D. Bache at a meeting of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, January 31, 1863. Special studies such as Dr. Charles B. Clark's admirable series of articles on politics in Maryland during the Civil War published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XXXVI-XL (1941-1945). Bernard C. Steiner published much of the correspondence of Pearce in a series of articles in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XVI-XIX (1921-1924). The Pearce letters are in the library of the Maryland Historical Society. Some letters are in the Polk and Van Buren Papers at the Library of Congress.

in 1912. Princeton conferred an L. L. D. upon him three years later. Judge Pearce was a member of the school board, president of the Second National Bank, and a Visitor of Washington College, serving as Secretary of the Board of Visitors and Governors for thirty years. A vestryman of Emmanuel Episcopal Church, he was Chancellor of the Diocese of Easton. He died in 1920.[26]

Judge Pearce and his wife conveyed Ringgold House and property to Josias Ringgold for $6,000. On December 24, 1899, the bond of conveyance was reviewed and it was agreed to divide the property between Josias and Mary C. Ringgold, his wife.[27] She sold parcels of the property to the Chestertown Steamboat Company, Joseph Peterson,[28] and Mrs. Polly Wescott.[29] Mrs. Ilma Pratt Catlin, wife of Henry Whaland Catlin of New York, purchased the house and lands September 30, 1916.[30] In 1944 Mr. Wilbur Ross Hubbard and a group of friends purchased the property and presented it to Washington College for use as a residence of the President. It was the home of Dr. and Mrs. Gilbert W. Mead until 1949, and is now the residence of Dr. Zachary Gibson and his family. It is a custom for the President to give a garden party for the Faculty and Senior Class every June graduation week.

It is a tribute to Washington College that such a home is now its property and the official residence of its President. It is also a tribute to the people of Chestertown and Kent County that such a mansion exists in the town in such a fine state of preservation. It is a greater tribute to the public spirited citizens who contributed funds for the purchase and restoration. The latter was supervised by Mr. Hubbard, Mr. Henry Powell Hopkins, and Mrs. Mead.

[26] *Portrait and Biographical Record of the Eastern Shore of Maryland* (New York, 1898), pp. 343-344, gives an adequate sketch. See also *Men of Mark in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1907), I, 284-285, and general works. *The Tributes Delivered in the Court of Appeals of Maryland, December 5, 1912, to the Hon. James Alfred Pearce on the Occasion of his Retirement as Chief Judge of the Second Judicial Circuit and Member of the Court of Appeals* (Baltimore, 1912), gives a full account of his legal and judicial career.

[27] Liber S. B. # 13, f. 72-73. Mary Clementine Ringgold, was the only daughter of Senator Pearce's second marriage, to Matilda C. Ringgold, daughter of Richard W. Ringgold, a Chestertown merchant. Mary Clementine Pearce married Josias Ringgold, Jr., of Chestertown. Thus both Senator Pearce and his daughter married Ringgolds, descendants of the large family that had earlier owned the home. Since Jduge Pearce had no children, the house was bought by Mary Clementine and Josias Ringgold.

[28] Deed of October 1, 1894. Liber S. G. F., # 3, f. 30.

[29] Deed of November 5, 1904. Liber J. T. D., # 10, f. 148.

[30] Deed of December 6, 1912. Liber J. T. D., # 26, f. 506.

DR. CHARLES CARROLL—LAND SPECULATOR, 1730–1755

By R. Bruce Harley

LAND speculation in any era of American history affords a fascinating study, and the story of a Maryland physician's land dealings in the 18th century is no exception. Although Dr. Charles Carroll was not the greatest land speculator,[1] nevertheless his activity is an interesting example because of the availability of records through his letter books.[2]

The brilliant record of the Catholic branch of the Carroll family has been recounted many times, but the lesser light of the Protestant branch might well be examined. The relationship between Charles Carroll, the Attorney General, and Dr. Charles Carroll is uncertain, but it is known that the former migrated to Maryland from Ireland in 1688; and the latter, in 1715. The physician was the son of Charles, Baron of Ely-O'Carroll, which was the same family name as the Catholic branch. He received his first tract of land from Charles Carroll, the Proprietor's Attorney General; this transaction shows evidence of relationship. In fact, it may have been that the doctor had been attracted to Maryland by the presence of his relative.[3] Furthermore, both men used seals bearing the coat-of-arms of the Ely-O'Carroll family[4] and were

[1] Daniel Dulany, Sr., and Charles Carroll, the Attorney General, were the chief speculators and landholders according to totals taken from wills, rent rolls, debt books, patent records, and provincial court land records deposited in the Maryland Land Office, Annapolis. (Cited henceforth as M. L. O.). Also information was gained from the Calvert Papers and Scharf Papers deposited in the Maryland Historical Society Library, Baltimore. (Cited henceforth as M. H. S.)

[2] First installment published in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XVIII (September, 1923), 197-233, and appearing thereafter *passim*. (Cited henceforth as *Md. Hist. Mag.*)

[3] *Colonial Families of the United States of America*, ed. by George N. MacKenzie (6 vols., New York, 1907), IV, 355. Ely O'Carroll was the name of the family estate, but Dr. Carroll did not pretend to it. Dr. Carroll to Daniel O'Carroll, September 9, 1748, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXII (1927), 376.

[4] Hester D. Richardson, *Side-Lights on Maryland History* (2 vols., Baltimore, 1913), II, 56.

associated together in the Baltimore Iron Company.[5] In addition, Dr. Carroll was one of the executors in the estates of Charles, Daniel, and James Carroll.[6] This man of many affairs was for forty years a resident of Annapolis. "For some years after his coming hither, he followed the Practice of Physic, with good Success; but laying that aside, he applied himself to more extensive Schemes of Trade and Merchandize, by which he amassed a very considerable Fortune."[7]

This article will examine only his success in land speculation in western Maryland. Until 1748 when Frederick County was created, Prince George's County included all of "western Maryland."[8] Despite the unsettled condition of the border between Maryland and Pennsylvania[9] and the exposed situation of the territory beyond Fort Frederick to Indian attacks instigated by the French, several factors led to speculation by the physician and others. Paramount in the land history of Maryland was the Proprietary desire to sell as much land as possible in order to collect quit-rents, and in this region there was a vast expanse of vacant land. Necessarily that involved a larger population, and Dr. Carroll early expressed his ideas in favoring settlement of the back country,[10] and the Proprietor revealed the same sentiment in his proclamation of March 2, 1732.[11] Furthermore, land speculation

[5] Carroll-Maccubin Papers, M. H. S. Also Provincial Court Proceedings, Liber PL No. 8, 220 *et seq*, Maryland Hall of Records, Annapolis. (Cited henceforth as M. H. R.)

[6] Provincial Court Land Records, Liber PI No. 6, 428, 349; Liber PL No. 8, 129, M. L. O.

[7] Obituary in *Maryland Gazette*, October 2, 1755, p. 3.

[8] Edward B. Mathews, *The Counties of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1907), p. 490. Frederick County included the present-day county of the same name plus those counties later formed and now known as Washington, Montgomery, Alleghany, Garrett, and about half of Carroll.

[9] The Mason and Dixon Line was not surveyed until several years after Carroll's death.

[10] Dr. Carroll to Governor Ogle, February 17, 1731, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XIX (1924), 291-293. Ogle did not like the doctor because of a controversy between them about the ability of the governor and the quality of his appointees, so nothing was done with this suggestion: revealed in a letter from Dr. Carroll to Thomas Brerewood, December 22, 1742, *ibid.*, XX (1925), 181.

[11] "Conditions of Plantation," *Archives of Maryland* (Baltimore, 1883—), XXVIII, 25. (Cited henceforth as *Md. Arch.*) Carroll evidently desired even more migration as is shown in a letter of June 22, 1753, to his son Charles Carroll the Barrister, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVI (1931), 55-56. Proprietary policy during this period is found in the Calvert Papers, Nos. 52, 295½, *et passim*; John Browning to Daniel Dulany, February 14, 1748/9 and Daniel Dulany to Frederick Calvert, October 30, 1752, Dulany Papers, M. H. S. William Eddis in his *Letters from*

at any time and in any particular locality is concerned with the value of the commodity, which was on the increase after 1730.[12] The improvement of transportation facilities also made land more valuable when the Monocacy and Wright's Ferry Roads were constructed.[13]

Because of the glut on the market of tobacco after 1713, later periods of poor crops, and a policy of "mining" the soil,[14] many planters, including Dr. Carroll, developed a real estate business in the western part of Maryland either to recoup their losses or to open up new tobacco lands to be leased or sold to small farmers.[15] The operations in the west involved much money and were beyond the reach of those who lacked capital or sources of income other than that accruing from a plantation. Natural ability and influence in securing large grants were also necessary assets. Therefore, it was no coincidence that the large landholders were leaders in other fields: planters, merchants, lawyers, doctors, assemblymen, and ironmasters headed the list in this respect; Dr. Carroll was everything but a lawyer, and his son was studying for that profession!

There were no Proprietary credit facilities for buying land, but as early as 1712, Lord Baltimore realized that the lapse of time between taking out a warrant from the land office for a tract, having it surveyed and returned for the issuance of a patent made for a loophole—the division and transfer of warrants in part before completing the process. This set of circumstances materially cut the Proprietary revenue when land was held and exchanged with-

America Historical and Descriptive: Comprising Occurrences from 1769 to 1777 Inclusive (London, 1792), *passim*, records the results of the migration. This of course enhanced the value of lands held by speculators and resulted in more profits.

[12] From 1720-1730, Maryland land was worth about five shillings per acre. By 1765, the normal value of medium land was about one pound sterling per acre—an increase of 200% over the year 1725 and compares quite favorably with the original purchase price of five pounds per one hundred acres. Clarence P. Gould, *The Land System in Maryland; 1720-1765*, Johns Hopkins University *Studies in Historical and Political Science*, XXXI, No. 1 (Baltimore, 1923), 60-61.

[13] This development is told in Albert B. Faust, *The German Element in the United States* (2 vols., New York, 1909), I, p. 167; Edward T. Schultz, *The First Settlements of Germans in Maryland* (Frederick, Md., 1896), p. 6; Daniel W. Nead; *The Pennsylvania-Germans in the Settlement of Maryland* (Lancaster, Pa., 1914), pp. 46-48.

[14] Avery O. Craven, *Soil Exhaustion as a Factor in the Agricultural History of Virginia and Maryland, 1606-1860*, University of Illinois *Studies in the Social Sciences*, XIII, No. 1 (Urbana, 1925), 27-39.

[15] Curtis P. Nettels, *The Roots of American Civilization* (New York, 1946), pp. 421-423.

out the payments of quit-rents and alienation fines.[16] Lord Baltimore issued instructions against the practice, but the opposition of the provincial leaders, who were the principal speculators, was too great to overcome; consequently, even open violations of regulations were condoned.

In addition, Dr. Carroll had one other factor in his favor concerning his success in land speculation. His personal advantage lay in early concentration on his medical practice, which enabled him to build up a widespread clientele, thus opening the door for further contracts and acquaintances. Carroll tracked down by vigilant search much valuable real estate which was escheat property or property going to heirs in England. The Proprietor or the heirs, as the case might be, were only too glad to have such property taken from their hands so that they could receive returns from it.

Dr. Carroll wrote to many people to transact his land business and frequently sent his letters by messenger to ensure prompt delivery, since many of his dealings depended for their success on the several factors involved being coordinated at the proper time. Because of the press of the business enterprises in which he was engaged outside his practice, the doctor was not often in a position to conduct personally his land speculation. Usually, he instructed a trusted friend to do this for him, and we see the names of Neal O'Gullion, Peter Youngblood, Thomas Prather, Hans Waggoner, John Howard, Rev. John Thomson, Isaac Webster, Conrad Hagmire, James Gillilard, Uncle Uncles, and his younger son John Carroll occurring frequently in the correspondence concerning Frederick County holdings. Uncles seemed to be the chief agent for Dr. Carroll, judging from the frequency of the occurrence of the name. Charles Carroll the Barrister's name does not occur because he was in England a good deal of the time

[16] The quit-rent charge modified speculation in its narrower sense: securing lands at a low price and selling them at a higher one. Even with the land increasing in value, a transaction of this sort involving, for example, five thousand acres "would necessarily extend over a period of years before the land could be disposed of, and during these years the quit-rent must be met or the venture would be a failure," Gould, *op. cit.*, 61. He believes that despite the actions of the landholders and speculators, the quit-rent saved the soil from being monopolized to the exclusion of the ordinary settler, *ibid.*, 64-66. Yet Dr. Carroll patented most of his tracts before selling them. This probably was a convenience to the purchasers, since the land records show many tracts were sold before patenting, as the patent and the deed were recorded on the same date.

studying, and returned just a few months before his father died in 1755.

Instead of using the conventional Proprietary machine of allowing the land office to send warrants to the Frederick County surveyor, Dr. Carroll sent his by personal messenger. Even so, he had to put up with a great deal of bureaucratic inefficiency in the surveyor's office to complete his deals, judging by the number of complaints which he lodged with Isaac Brooke, the surveyor during most of this period. However, Carroll tried to be fair and to assume an objective viewpoint, while at the same time relying on Brooke to bear up his end of the various warrants transactions. This is brought out when Carroll for example wrote that "I hope I need not Importune you further to forward my affairs with you Since I assure you I fear to be a great looser at best with those Lands and Especially if any lapse should happen, w^{ch} I much Relye on you to prevent. . . ." [17] And again, "Your Favour herein and any other Business in your Hands will much oblige me. I hope you will put me to as little Trouble and Expense as may be . . ." [18]

Frequently, Carroll would act in behalf of others seeking land, either acting as their agent since he was acquainted with the procedure or else patenting the land in his own name and then selling it to another party immediately. Without modern means of communication, he would have to depend on the surveyor's efficiency in returning certificates of survey promptly, and if the latter were lax about it, he would receive a sharp note asking him to return the certificate, for "without a patent I cannot sell these lands to advantage, as the purchasers desire it" or "You will oblige me much by Returning inclosed Certificate of Storey Park 100 acres as soon as you can that I may get patent for it having obliged myself so to do for the person I take it up for. . . ." [19]

It would seem that Carroll relied too much on the surveyor's office in keeping account of his warrants. He knew the acreage of the warrants which he secured from the land office but did not personally make a note of how they were applied or divided, or the duration of them. In 1750, he wrote to Brooke saying, "I

[17] Dr. Carroll to Isaac Brooke, August 16, 1751, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXIV (1929), 248.

[18] Same to same, June 15, 1752, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXIV (1929), 368.

[19] Same to same, June 11, 1751; April 6, 1752, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXIV (1929), 189, 280.

would be much obliged if you would take care that none of my other small common Warrants Be out of Date. . . ." [20] and continued that reminder from time to time. For example, he wrote three years after taking out some warrants, noting that he

had a 1000as of Common Warrt. in October 1750 or 1751 of which I find no Return pray let me know where that warrt. was Located or Applyed and how much of my Warr^{t} of 1500as dated 15th June last is Yet unexecuted as also 400as dated the 5th June and where located. I had 300as 16th Ap ^{l} 1751 and June 11th that year 700as w^{ch} I shall be very much obliged if you will let me know how located or applyed: If any of these Warr^{ts} which bare date before the 10th June last were located on the Drafts of Hunting Creek and not executed you may return the Cert: of New London by such Warr^{t} as well as Reads which I can at any time assign if Needfull. Pray excuse my Importuning you as my Interest is at Stake I am obliged to do it. . . .[21]

By 1754, his land business had become so heavy that he was forced to write to Brooke:

I hope you will favour me so far as to let me know what warrants are unexecuted in your Hands or the Quantity due to me which I think is considerable. It will much oblige me that you return my Certificates in your Hands as soon as possible. . . . Your Nephew when in Town was so kind as to promise that he would send me a List of my warrants and Exact Quantitys and what was applied and what was due me unapplied which I request you will put him in mind of. I find that from the 27th October 1749 I had in your Hands 10447 acres Patented I believe there are some Certificates of mine in the office now to be Patented and some in your hands to be returned. . . .[22]

Carroll used other means of transacting his business besides writing frequently to the Frederick County surveyor. At one time he even wrote to Governor Sharpe to prove that he had no resurvey warrant for a certain tract but only a warrant to survey additional land contiguous to it, and he quoted legal precedents to prove his case.[23] At another time, it took a private act of the Assembly to remedy the defects in an indenture of bargain and sale, involving Charles Carroll of Annapolis who sold a 500 acre

[20] Same to same, June 19, 1750; April 6, 1752, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXIII (1928), 262; *ibid.* XXIV (1929), 280.

[21] Same to same, February 24, 1753, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVI (1931), 43-44. The warrant for 1,000 acres had been assigned to him by Daniel Dulany—memorandum, *ibid.*, XXIII (1928), 259.

[22] Same to same, April 9, 1754, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVII (1932), 217-218.

[23] Same to Governor Sharpe, June 6, 1755, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVII (1932), 332-333.

tract to Dr. Carroll, who sold it to John Bradford, who in turn sold it to Daniel Carroll of Marlborough.[24] Dr. Carroll knew also how to drive a sharp bargain and buy land for less than the owner wanted. In making one offer in such vein, he described a tract as "the Remoteness of the place and indifference of the land (I believe). . . ." [25]

In a letter to Isaac Webster, his methods are demonstrated even further. While writing about an expected influx of Welsh people, he says: [26]

> . . . I have now ten thousand acres of Warrant located on the Creeks called Conawago Codorus and their Draughts on Susquehanna and I am informed that I can get very near that quantity of good land thereabouts.
>
> I believe that selling it to them at twenty or twenty five pounds p hund^{d} can't be thought too dear & two year for Payment at the later, & what time after it remains unpaid they to pay interest.
>
> Now for your encouragement I will allow you one-fifth Part of the neat proceeds on the said Land if you will make sale thereof & take the trouble yourself to survey and show it to the People.

Regardless of the methods employed and the volume of business, Dr. Carroll was often hard pressed for ready money. As early as 1733, circumstances forced him to include in an offer to buy two pieces of land, the condition that not being able to pay "at present" he would take a lease for four years and then pay the purchase price, the lessors being obliged to make a deed of release.[27] Twenty years later he wrote to the Barrister that "Secureing these Lands has drained me much of money and as my other Business requires the produce of my part of the Baltimore Comp^{ys} Furnace and Forge Yearly disables me to Carry on this other without the Supply of^{d} of seven Hund^{d} Pounds p Ann. for four or five Years. . . ." [28] Presumably conditions became

[24] June 11, 1748, *Md. Arch.*, XLVI, 134-136.

[25] Dr. Carroll to James Harris, [n. d.—1742?], *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XX (1925), 265-266. On the other hand he offered to sell "Addition to Charleys Forest" consisting of 1,470 acres, because it was "only the distance from my Other Interests w^{ch} Induces me to sell": letter to Rev. John Eversfield, January 19, 1743, *ibid.*, XX (1925), 373-374. He did not sell it though and finally deeded it to Nicholas Maccubin, his son-in-law, on August 8, 1748, Provincial Court Land Records, Liber EI No. 8, f. 476, M. L. O.

[26] Same to Isaac Webster, August 12, 1731, quoted in William B. Marye, "The Baltimore County 'Garrison' and the Old Garrison Roads," *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XVI, (1921), 258, fn. 71.

[27] Same to Philip Smith, May 7, 1733, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XIX (1924), 393.

[28] Same to the Barrister, February 2, 1753, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXV (1930), 287.

worse, for within a month he wrote to Edward Lloyd explaining the situation and requesting a loan of £300 sterling.[29] Carroll's note of appreciation showed that his benefactor was very prompt to comply.[30]

Even though Carroll had to borrow money to finance a new project or his older son's education while waiting for returns from previous undertakings, it cannot be said that he was extravagant. Being constantly aware of small expenses and fees as a drain on his supply of ready money, he tried not to have too much correspondence concerning one deal. Quite naturally he preferred to have the transaction completed by as few messages as possible, since a note sent by messenger cost thirty shillings each time.[31] On one occasion he protested to the clerk of the land office, Edmund Jennings, that

> I have a Land Warrant for some time past in his L^dps^ Land Office to be renewed & to that purpose have applyed to y^r^ Clerk who refuses to do it unless I sign a judgment Bond or pay at the rate of ten shillings p Cent. for the Tobacco Fee. I think its forty four Pounds of Tobacco the usual Demand for such Service & I have told y^r^ Clerk that I was ready to pay the Tobacco out of my Warehouse here in Town that Instant & you are sensible that money being scarce cannot be commanded at all Times. I have no objection against paying y^r^ Fees & if you will take them in manner as above according as the Business is Done, I am ready to pay them, or if you chuse to stay till the usual Time of paying Tobacco shall be ready to pay in gross whatever shall be due but hope you'll not detain my Business insisting for every Trifle, & accordingly give Directions to y^r^ Clerks. . . .[32]

At another time the land office bureaucracy tried to enforce quit-rents for the time elapsing between the survey and the issuing of the patent. Many of the speculators were caught by this ruling,[33] for their margin of profit was greater by not paying the

[29] Same to Edward Lloyd, March 2, 1753, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVI (1931), 45.

[30] Same to same, March 9, 1753, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVI (1931), 46. In the latter part of the same year, Lloyd offered another sum to Carroll when the doctor thought he needed it, but due to some circumstance he did not use it. The next year, he found that he did need it and wrote to Lloyd requesting a loan of £250 " to make a Remittance to my son to enable him to remain some Time longer in London to be Called to the Bar for Practice in the Plantations. . . ." Same to same, March 9, 1754, *ibid.*, XXVII (1932), 215-216. There is no record of his obtaining the sum, but presumably he did, judging by previous incidents.

[31] Same to Isaac Brooke, August 16, 1751, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXIV (1929), 248.

[32] Same to Edmund Jennings, May 3, 1753, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXV (1930), 303.

[33] The " Land Office Accounts " in the Calvert Papers, Nos. 915, 921, 924, 925, 936, 938, 942, 954, 962 and 976, M. H. S. show this.

charge if a sale could be consummated before a patent was granted for the land. Dr. Carroll spoke for the speculators when he wrote to the rent receiver of Frederick County, John Darnall, that

> I am very willing to pay everything Justly due to the Lord Proprietor from me, but I cannot agree that the Charge of Rent or Arrears of Rent before the Date of the patent is either just or Reasonable Especially when there is no Hindrance on my part to the Issuing such Patents. The first Cost to the Proprietor the Great Charges and Fees to the Respective Officers in the Progress towards obtaining Grants is very High Rent, and ought to be Considered by his Lordships Ministers for whom this Letter is intended tho adressed to you. It does not become the expected Lenity of his Lordship's administration to Squeeze his Tenants Therefore I am in Hope the inclosed Account will not be insisted upon but that those concerned will be content to Receive the Rents from the Respective Dates of the Patent according to Covenant.[34]

This plea was not of much avail, for the "Land Office Accounts" in the *Calvert Papers* reveal that the practice was carried on as late as 1761.

Another type of practice saved the speculators money, if they could procure a certain indulgence from the officials. This consisted in paying quit-rents only for the amount of a tract actually held. This is revealed in a letter to John Ross from Dr. Carroll in which the latter, ever interested in saving money, says: "I hope it will be as You Say I am Sure many that I know have had the Indulgence (if I may Call it So) I desire. I do not Want to be exempted from paying the Rents of the Two Tracts of Land, only to be discounted out of the Whole; as Suppose the whole Tracts to amount to 6000 acres these Two containing 200 included so to pay only for 5800 When I address to you I presume it is as to the president or his Lordsp's Agent as I suppose you consult him I have desired the Favour of M^{r} Howard to show you the plat of the Land & what I would have . . ." [35]

Dr. Carroll had other troubles besides those of money and certainly they must also have plagued the rest of the speculators. Prominent among these other hazards of speculation was that of accidentally drawing a line of survey so that it included a part of someone else's tract. This error would result in a great deal of litigation and expense and probably discouraged the most con-

[34] Dr. Carroll to John Darnall, April 23, 1752, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXIV (1929), 281-282.

[35] Same to John Ross, February 9, 1753, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXV (1930), 290.

fident speculator at times. Dr. Carroll's correspondence reveals his share of this type of obstacle, and the physician sums up his attitude when he wrote to Isaac Brooke that "When I wrote you my last Lre I was in Hopes that all opposition to my Surveys were at an End but I now find a new one which I did not know of . . ." [36]

Many of Carroll's controversies were with Evan Shelby and his son. In a letter to Brooke, Carroll requested that he call on Thomas Prather, a surveyor of Carroll's, to be shown the resurvey made on a tract known as "Iron Mountain" so that Brooke

> . . . may be Enabled to Return the Improvements and avoid any Cause of Quible which hereafter may be made use of By Mr Shelby or others. The Resurvey contains Reese Shelby's Improvements Viz. a Logg Cabbin 15 or 16 Acres of Cultivated Land about 40 Young Trees of Little value as allso Part of Evan Shelby's Improvements wch Mr Prather says you know the Particulars of. I have Great Confidence in your favour and would give you as Little Trouble as Possible But Hope you will Go. . . .[37]

The next day Carroll wrote to Brooke, saying,

> . . . As I Expect all the opposition Shelby can Give to avoid any Cause in the Least I request you will go to the Place and View the Courses and Improvements wch are included that you may be able to Justifie haveing made the said Resurvey according to yr Instructions . . . I Hope for yr Complyance as soon as Possible that the Certificate may be Returned . . .[38]

The affair dragged on however, and a year later Carroll wrote to the agent, Benjamin Tasker, wanting the patent to issue by order, payment being made according to the valuation set by Tasker.[39] For his part, Shelby was still very much in the picture and obtained a caveat against Carroll, so that the land could not be patented. Shelby did not appear for a hearing in June of 1753 and Carroll could not wait for him since he had business out of town.[40] The result was that the patent procedure was obstructed until 1759, when the Barrister finally obtained the grant, long after his father's death.[41]

In another case, Dr. Carroll had patented a tract contiguous to

[36] Same to Isaac Brooke, February 24, 1754, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVI (1931), 43.
[37] Same to same, June 18, 1750, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXIII (1928), 261-262.
[38] Same to same, June 19, 1750, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXIII (1928), 262.
[39] Same to Benjamin Tasker, October 21, 1751, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXIV (1929), 264.
[40] Same to Thomas Jennings, June 11, 1753, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVI (1931), 55.
[41] Rent Roll Series, Liber 34, f. 170, M. L. O.

Shelby's holdings and named it "Shelby's Misfortune."[42] A tenant on this land, Peter Stokes, claimed that Shelby had committed trespass and ejectment. The case was tried in 1753 during the March term of the provincial court and was decided on April 10. The jury found "the said Evan Shelby junior not Guilty of the Trespass and Ejectment aforesaid." Therefore it was considered by the Justices that "the said Peter Stokes, lessee of the said Charles Carroll, take nothing by his writ afd. [aforesaid] but be in mercy for his False Clamour and that the said Evan Shelby Junior go thereof without d[el]ay." Moreover, Shelby was to recover his costs from Carroll, the amount being left blank in the record.[43]

Defeated in this and obstructed in the previous controversy, Carroll fared no better in a third case. In 1753 he alleged that a member of Shelby's household had destroyed a boundary marker. He disclosed the evidence to one of his agents, Thomas Prather,[44] and to the attorney general, Henry Darnall, in which he assumed the role of spokesman for all the speculators by saying, "This being an Offence Ag[t] the common Security of every man interested in real Estates in Maryland I hope for Your Care that the offender may be punished as far as the Law will go."[45] A short time later, Carroll wrote to Samuel Beall, sheriff of Frederick County, to enclose the writ of ejectment against Shelby, which he hoped would be served "in Time and not give . . . further Occation to Complain on that Head . . ."[46] Progress on the case was reported to Prather,[47] and the next month (March, 1754) the case appeared in Frederick County court when Shelby gave his recognizance for the appearance of Frederick Hawkelberger to testify against Laetitia Shelby. In the June court of the same year, Shelby gave a recognizance of six thousand pounds of tobacco for the appearance of his wife to answer the charges against her.[48] The case

[42] Rent Roll Series, Liber 32, f. 221, M. L. O.
[43] Provincial Court Judgments, Liber E I No. 15, ff. 25-27, M. H. R.
[44] Dr. Carroll to Thomas Prather, September 29, 1753, November 10, 1753, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVI (1931), 192-193, 196-198.
[45] Same to Henry Darnall, January 22, 1754, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVI (1931), 240.
[46] Same to Samuel Beall, February 1, 1754, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVI (1931), 240-241.
[47] Same to Thomas Prather, February 12, 1754, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVI (1931), 241-242.
[48] Frederick County Court Judgments, Liber H, 311, f. 455, M. H. R.

case continued on the docket in the August court,[49] but until the next March no other steps were taken, at which time Carroll again wrote to Beall[50] that he "thought it full early to send [him] the Inclosed Warrant from the provincial office for Laying down [his] Pretentions agst Evan Shelby." The case was continued from time to time until the June court of 1758, when it was struck from the docket after fifteen continuances.[51]

These cases should not convey the thought that the physician-speculator was usually unfortunate in his court cases. They are cited in detail to demonstrate the obstacles of a large real estate dealer. Difficulties connected with boundaries, trespass, and landmarks were troublesome enough, but Dr. Carroll also had other impediments in the course of business affairs. The surveyor of Frederick County, Isaac Brooke, was not always accurate, and in 1752 Carroll was forced to write to him saying:

> Your leaving out the Expressions which I gave you in my Resurvey of Catt Tail Marsh called High Germany has thrown it into Adjacent Lands and left out the Land intended to be included. It is really impossible among many Surveys to be Exact without Expressions to bind on them how this come I don't know but hope I may mend the Error without any other Interfering with me though the Expence will be very Considerable . . .

He expressed the same thought in another letter to Brooke two months later.[52] However, these examples should not give the impression Carroll was a complainer, always involved in litigation. The large bulk of his land correspondence was concerned with every-day business matters. Many letters were sent to Brooke, giving him directions in the disposal of his own warrants[53] and of warrants assigned to him.[54] Occasionally he would admit mistakes in surveys made by his hired assistants,[55] and at least once he did not want a survey returned until he had had a chance to see the

[49] Frederick County Court Dockets, 1754, f. 71, M. H. R.

[50] Dr. Carroll to Samuel Beall, March 20, 1755, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVII (1932), 322.

[51] Frederick County Court Judgments, Liber H, f. 1229, M. H. R.

[52] Dr. Carroll to Isaac Brooke, April 6, 1752, June 15, 1752, *Md. Hist. Mag.* XXIV (1929), 279, 367. After his father's death, Charles Carroll the Barrister had his troubles with Brooke also: letters of August 15, August 30, and November 30, 1755, *ibid.* XXXI (1936), 300, 301, 311-312.

[53] Same to same June 11, 1751, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXIV (1929), 189-190.

[54] Same to same, March 20, 1749, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXIII (1928), 255.

[55] Same to same, May 5, 1750, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXIII (1928), 253; Same to same, *ibid.*, XXVI (1931), 3.

plan of the lands.[56] Usually he would take up vacant contiguous land if his survey lacked sufficient acreage, but if he expressed the opinion that "no Land about its worth Takeing up Being in the Barrens," he could direct that he wanted "the Remainder of the Warrant for other purpose . . . ." [57]

As a rule, Carroll did not reveal his terms for sale of land by correspondence but probably instructed his agents verbally. One letter, however, remains extant to give us an insight into another phase of his business. Writing to the Rev. Jonathan Thompson he offers to sell seven thousand acres of land "all contiguous & good at £25 per 100 acres" and to give the purchaser seven years in which to repay the money at four per cent interest. When we recall that the caution money was five pounds per hundred acres, this would seem to be a tidy profit without counting the interest charges. Carroll realized that not everybody could pay such a price, so he was content to reap a return by leasing and offered alternate terms in the same letter—if the buyer or buyers could not pay the purchase price by the end of the seven years, he would give them leases for the twenty-one years following, at the rate of seventy pounds a year for seven years and £140 a year the next fourteen years, as well as a year's fine at the beginning of the leasing period. After this, the leases could be renewed for twenty-one years more, the lessees "paying a fine of 40 shill per 100 acres & 6 d an acre per year for said 21 years." Further conditions agreeable to landlord and tenant could be made at the expiration of this period, while in all cases the usual clauses of entry in case of failure of rent or arrearages were to be included. The rent was to be paid on the land at a certain place, the buildings were to be kept in good repair, and the tenants were to plant orchards. In conclusion, Carroll noted: "Said proposals shall be made by me any time within 3 years." [58]

An anticipated profit of 400% was usually surpassed. In 1736, he sold several small tracts totalling 417 acres to Henry Watson for £300.[59] In 1745, he sold three hundred acres to Hance Waggoner for sixty-six pounds.[60] Some of his transactions resulted in

[56] Same to same, May 30, 1753, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXVI (1931), 53.
[57] Same to same, March 20, 1749, *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XXIII (1928), 255.
[58] Same to Rev. Jonathan Thomson, [n. d.—1729?], *Md. Hist. Mag.*, XVIII (1923), 331.
[59] Prince George's County Land Records, Liber T, f. 434, M. H. R.
[60] Provincial Court Land Records, Liber E No. 8, f. 235, M. L. O.

a loss in a strictly financial way, as when Carroll sold 1,400 acres to John Bradford for only fifty pounds.[61] Actually, Carroll did not sell too many tracts during his lifetime, and it was the Barrister who received the return on the initial investment. He took over his father's affairs in 1755 before the latter's death and continued to administer them admirably, as is evidenced by his selling 525 acres to Michael Plants for £500[62] and two hundred acres to Michael Teal for £166.[63]

When one sums up Dr. Carroll's land activity, he is conscious of the part that the physician played in western Maryland history. It will be recalled that Carroll obtained his first tract of 2,400 acres from Charles Carroll, the Attorney General, on November 10, 1718, three years after his migration from Ireland.[64] After securing this initial tract in Anne Arundel County, he slowly built up his holdings there and in Baltimore County. By 1730, he had entered western Maryland as a scene of activity. Altogether he warranted there 91 tracts totalling 31,529 acres for an average of 352 acres per holding. Of that total he patented 83 tracts containing 28,480 acres. In addition he bought 13 tracts totalling 3,049 acres. Of the 96 tracts he sold 57 containing 22,781 acres.[65] Unlike those who did not belong to the ruling aristocracy, Dr. Carroll did a great deal of his speculation by paying the purchase or caution money for land and selling it at a profit because of its natural increase in value, although he did patent and sell some land on the same day. In common with other dealers, he fell into arrears on his quit-rent payments[66] because of the size of his business and the chronic shortage of hard money in a staple colony in the British mercantilistic empire.

It cannot be denied that the development undertaken on such a large scale contained a large element of risk, as is true of all speculative enterprises; however, the profits were also on a large scale when the purchasers finally paid. In regard to the question

[61] Provincial Court Land Records, Liber P L No. 8, f. 130, M. L. O.
[62] Frederick County Land Records, Liber G, f. 344, M. H. R.
[63] Frederick County Land Records, Liber G, f. 487, M. H. R.
[64] Richardson, *op. cit.*, II, 56.
[65] An outstanding example of his Baltimore County holdings was "Georgia," which was patented on July 12, 1732, for 2,368 acres. Data for his western holdings taken from Rent Roll Series 3, 4, 32, 34, 35, 36, 38, M. L. O. The Barrister sold many of the remaining 39 tracts after his father's death.
[66] Calvert Paper No. 962 M. H. S., shows various tracts in arrears from one year to nine years, eleven months.

of whether the concentration of vast areas of frontier lands in the hands of comparatviely few people hindered or hastened settlement, it can be seen that Dr. Carroll believed he was building up the colony. Perhaps he and his speculative brethren did develop the country "at a rate which might otherwise not have been possible."[67] On the other hand, the dynamic idea of the freehold concept could have built up the hinterland without the profit motive of those in political and economic power.[68]

[67] James T. Adams, *Provincial Society*, A History of American Life, III (New York, 1927), 215.

[68] Chester E. Eisinger, "The Freehold Concept in Eighteenth-Century Letters," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, third series, IV (1947), 44.

LINCOLN, CHASE, AND THE REV. DR. RICHARD FULLER

By David Rankin Barbee

AFTER examining the Lincoln Papers in the Library of Congress, the noted historian and Lincoln authority, Dr. James G. Randall, of the University of Illinois, said that "a public domain [has been opened] in which many a claim will be richly developed." It was his matured conclusion that the documents were "the stuff out of which history is built." [1] The venerable and much-beloved historian, Professor Frank Maloy Anderson, of Dartmouth College, some time later expressed the opinion, based upon a personal examination of the papers, that "the value of the collection for historians lies in the hundreds of letters written to Lincoln and in letters written to other persons and by them transmitted to Lincoln." [2]

All this is very true, especially as regards Lincoln's relations to Maryland and to Marylanders. Until these papers were opened to the public, it was not possible to write a correct account of these relations. Even now many of these documents will puzzle scholars, and have no meaning to some of them, unless they know a great deal more about Marylanders and Maryland history during the war of 1861-1865 than most of them seem to know.

One of these documents came out of Baltimore, and it can only be interpreted by the liberal use of the papers of Secretary Chase and of the files of *The Baltimore Sun.* It grew out of the riot that occurred when Massachusetts troops were attacked on the streets of Baltimore, April 19, 1861, as they were passing through the city on their way to Washington. Reading the document by itself, one would hardly connect it with that bloody incident; but so it was—and its history brings to light one of the strangest

[1] "The Historical Importance of the Lincoln Papers," by David Rankin Barbee. *New York Times* Dec. 14, 1947.
[2] *Ibid.*

friendships in our national history, that of the Ohio abolitionist, Salmon P. Chase, and a South Carolina slave-owner, who, in Baltimore, for many years filled a large space in the public eye.

Three days after the riot, the White House was visited by a group of young Baltimoreans. They handed the usher the following document, which was carried to Secretary Nicolay, and by him taken to the President:

Washington, April 22, 1861

To his Excellency,
Abraham Lincoln,
President of the United States:

Sir: At a meeting of citizens of Baltimore, and especially of five Associations, in which are represented thousands of the Christian young men of that city, the undersigned were detailed as a committee to wait upon your Excellency. We are now present, and solicit the honor of an interview. We have left our homes and business at much inconvenience, but are ready to make any sacrifice for our beloved country, and for peace.

[Signed] Rich'd Fuller, J. D. Pratt, J. Gilman, William Martin, Wm. A. Beaman, H. C. Smyser, Jno. W. Selby, Geo. W. Riston, L. A. Durding, Wm. J. Hiss, Wm. Mentzel, Thos. M. Johnson, Hiram Woods, Jr., Norman Price, Thos. H. Blick, W. W. Stover, A. A. White, Sam'l. C. Hind.[3]

The first name signed to this document was that of the Rev. Dr. Richard Fuller, perhaps the most prominent Baptist minister in the nation; surely he held that rank among Southern Baptists. For some years he had been the pastor of the Seventh Baptist Church in Baltimore. From a letter that Dr. Fuller wrote Secretary Chase, the following day, some light is thrown on the interview the Baltimoreans had with the Chief Executive.

"From President Lincoln nothing is to be hoped—except as *you* can influence him," the letter reads. "Five associations—representing thousands of our best young men—sent a delegation of thirty to Washington yesterday. I was not at their meeting, but they called & asked me to go with them as their chairman.

"We were at once & cordially received. I marked the President closely. Constitutionally genial & jovial, he is wholly inaccessible to Christian appeals—& his egotism will forever prevent him comprehending what patriotism means."[4]

At his home in Washington, the venerable correspondent of *The Baltimore Sun*, Eliab Kingman, whose authoritative dispatches

[3] Lincoln Papers, Vol. 43, MS Division, Library of Congress.
[4] S. P. Chase Papers, Vol. 44, MS Division, Library of Congress.

from the National Capital, signed "Ion," had all the influence that interviews and statements from the White House were later to have, sat mulling over the very matter that had brought Dr. Fuller and these young men to see the President.[5] From his thoughts, based upon interviews with leading men of all parties, and from his close reading of the papers, he wrote the following dispatch:

> The North seems already distrustful of the permanence of the military enthusiasm which has lately appeared among her people. Leading Republicans in New York are distressed materially at the present depression of business, and apprehend further embarassments, and now say in private letters that they want no fighting.
>
> If they are startled at the aspect of the demon of civil war which they have raised, they must endeavor to lay it. Can they induce Mr. Lincoln, at this critical moment, to recall his proclamation? The administration is neither prepared for war nor peace. They have been and are still "dealing with delusions." If they think the Confederates will "disperse" at the summons of the Federal Executive, and that they will return to their allegiance, and do all this even without a war of invasion, without burning powder or flashing steel, they are really "dealing with delusions." [6]

This was the situation into which Dr. Fuller and his young Christians moved. How they were disillusioned, the minister's letter to Secretary Chase reveals. On their return to Baltimore, they went to *The Sun* office and gave the editors a full account of what had transpired at the White House. *The Sun* alone had this story, but it was so important to the people of Maryland that two other Baltimore papers copied it. It evoked no comment, it seems, anywhere. After studying the article, I am confident that Dr. Fuller was the spokesman.

Mr. Lincoln received them very cordially—"a sort of rude familiarity—and the conversation was opened by Dr. Fuller seeking to impress upon Mr. Lincoln the vast responsibility of the position he occupied, and that upon him depended the issue of peace or war—on one hand a terrible, fratricidal conflict, and on the other peace."

[5] Eliab Kingman was born in Providence, R. I., the son of a Baptist clergyman. After graduating from Brown University, he taught in Virginia for several years and in 1822 came to Washington as the first accredited correspondent stationed at the Capital. Among the papers he represented were the *New York Commercial Advertiser*, the *Charleston Courier*, and the *New Orleans Picayune*. For a brief sketch of him see *Harper's Magazine*, Vol. 48, 227.

[6] *Baltimore Sun*, April 22, 1861.

The President listened to Dr. Fuller with patience—with the patience of a man whose mind was made up—and when the minister concluded, he asked: "But, what am I to do?"

"Why, Sir," replied Dr. Fuller, "let the country know that you are disposed to recognize the independence of the Southern States. I say nothing of Secession; recognize the fact that they have formed a government of their own, that they will never be united again with the North, and peace will instantly take the place of anxiety and suspense, and war may be averted."

"And what is to become of the revenue?" asked Mr. Lincoln. "I shall have no government—no resources."[7]

Dr. Fuller's remarks were bold talking from a Southern slave-owner to an abolition President; but where did he get the inspiration for making them? On the day of the attack on the Massachusetts troops, Governor Hicks and Mayor Brown held an anxious meeting with leading citizens of the State in the Mayor's office, and among those they sent for to counsel with was Dr. Fuller. It was known, somehow, that he had had an interview with Secretary Chase, who was supposed to be the dominating force in Lincoln's Cabinet—dominating a supposedly "weak and vacillating President." The minister had paid a hurried visit to Washington that very day to see the Secretary, and later, giving him a report of the conference at the Mayor's office, he said:

> The city is intensely exasperated, & they wished to know whether—from my interview with you—I gathered any hope of peace & reconciliation.
>
> Avoiding details, I answered affirmatively. I expressed the belief that, while the Government cannot admit the right of Secession, you would receive the acknowledged fact of the withdrawal of the States, & rather allow them to go in peace, than see the country involved in war.
>
> It is due to myself to inform you of this, & to express the hope that I have properly represented the conversation with which you were kind enough to honor me.[8]

Dr. Fuller would not have misrepresented Chase's views for all the world. They were the views of the party to which he belonged, the views of Horace Greeley and of nearly all the simon-pure Abolitionists at the moment, they were the views of General Scott, who commanded the army; but they were not Lincoln's

[7] *Ibid.*, April 27, 1861.
[8] Chase Papers, Vol. 44, April 19, 1861.

views, nor were they the views of the Republicans in the Northwestern States.

Lincoln set forth his policy more than a year before he became President. On the very day that John Brown was executed in Virginia (December 2, 1859), speaking in the Methodist church in Atchison, Kansas, and "alluding to the threats of the South [to secede], he said, with tremendous emphasis: 'If you attempt to secede, you are traitors, and we will hang you as you have hanged John Brown today.'" [9]

Entertaining such views—from which he never deviated—he was not open to any appeal that Dr. Fuller or any other Christian minister might make for peace.

Twice within the week of the conference in Mayor Brown's office, Dr. Fuller and Secretary Chase held long conferences on the troubled state of the Union. The first one took place the day after Fort Sumter fell, and was brought about by the following letter from the minister:

> The Southern & Southwestern Baptist Convention meets at Savannah in a few weeks. It represents some 600,000 constituents from all the slaveholding States. I am President of that body, & I write to ask if you can allow me a few moments conference with you, that, if possible, I may bear some thoughts or assurances to compose the intense clashing feelings I may meet, & to save the country from the impending horror of a protracted civil war. I am a native of So. Carolina, was educated in Massachusetts, & am now pastor of a large & influential church in this city.[10]

To show that he was not a nobody, but was a somebody, the eminent clergyman said: "In 1852—when there was but little danger—Mr. Webster appointed two meetings with me. My soul is now bowed down at the prospect before us, & I know your great influence with the Cabinet."

He could easily, he went on, procure letters of introduction from his friends, Edward Everett, Robert C. Winthrop, Judge [Senator Ira] Harris, and others, "but I am sure my wishes, my earnest desires to avert war & do something for the people, will be my best commendation to you." [11]

[9] John G. Nicolay Papers, Library of Congress. Letter of Senator John J. Ingalls of Kansas to Nicolay, dated: "Atchison, Kansas, Aug. 5." [No year.] Ingalls heard Lincoln make this speech.

[10] Chase Papers Vol. 40, April 15, 1861.

[11] *Ibid.* Also Lincoln Papers, Vol. 66. Letter of Senator Ira Harris to Lincoln, Jan. 12, 1862, introducing Dr. Fuller and enclosing letters from Senators Doolittle,

If Dr. Fuller had known that Chase was the only member of the Cabinet who had taken an equivocal position on the impending war, he probably would not have been so solicitous to have this interview with him, or have placed such confidence in his views. When a brother clergyman, prior to his writing this letter, told him that Chase "had proclaimed war upon the South in terms of unmitigated hostility," he had refused to believe it; he was, he told Chase, "sure this was a misunderstanding" of the Secretary's position; and believing, from what Chase had said to him, that he was a "Christian patriot, & would prefer honorable peace to a horrible war," he had conveyed that impression to the Governor and the Mayor. "As I sought you to get—if not an olive branch yet an olive leaf—I could not help expressing the hope I did—which (after all) was only my hope." [12]

Little did Dr. Fuller know that Chase was playing a deep game with the fate of the nation, to get control of the President and "run the machine." Seward, whom he disliked (it was a mutual hatred) had expressed himself strongly in favor of removing the garrison from Fort Sumter and giving the country time to cool off. So Chase took the opposite tack, and gave Lincoln a yes-and-no answer on that proposition. If war came, he could say he was on the side of peace; if peace resulted, he could tell the war-mongers that he had been on their side.[13]

Dr. Fuller's course toward slavery—and he was a large slaveholder—was an open book. "He was ag'in' it." In Washington, in 1851, in the presence of President Fillmore, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay and a large concourse, at a meeting of the American Colonization Society, he declared: "We of the South ought candidly to admit that, while slavery enriches the individual, it impoverishes the State, fostering indolence and luxury, which have always been the bane of governments." His biographer informs us that "the address met with but little favor at the South"; and that when Dr. Fuller visited his old home in Beaufort, "it was even suggested that his appearance in his old pulpit might not be a matter of pleasure to the people." This threat went unheeded, and when he entered his old pulpit, the people heard him gladly.[14]

S. G. Arnold and A. Kennedy, vouching for the high character and entire loyalty of Dr. Fuller. There is no record of this interview between Lincoln and Dr. Fuller.

[12] *Ibid.*, April 23, 1861.

[13] J. G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A Hsitory* (1890), III, 385.

[14] James H. Cuthbert, *Life of Dr. Richard D. Fuller* (1879), pp. 193, 201.

Chase could hardly understand such a forthright man. His own record, in the controversies of the 1850's, must have often disturbed his conscience. Little is it known that he was an extreme State Rights man, and that he had once been friendly to the institution of slavery.[15] The noted Marylander, Walter W. W. Bowie, of Anne Arundel County, just before Dr. Fuller met Chase and Lincoln, was writing the Secretary a friendly letter, presuming on an ancient friendship, in an effort to get from him some expression of policy that would stop the mad rush of the country into war—a war which was to blight Bowie's own life:

> You know of your own knowledge [he wrote] that this "Institution" of the South is not the terrible thing it is represented to be by malicious demagogues and shameless preachers. You studied your profession under Wirt—a slaveholder—and long lived in Washington. You saw much of slavery and I have heard *you* say that you thought, on the whole, the slave had an easier time than the owner. I was one of your scholars in the select Classical Academy over which you presided with such eminent ability that your merits for integrity, scholarship, independence of character and strict sense of impartial justice, won you the esteem of the great leaders of the then two political parties, Adams, Clay, Rush and Wirt on the one part and Jackson, Van Buren, Ingham, Key on the other. By adherence to those principles, I presume, is to be attributed the great success that has attended your career through life. Why not practice those virtues by exerting your influence to have fair justice meted out to the South and save the Union?[16]

This was exactly Dr. Fuller's idea, when he wrote Chase, giving him an account of his interview with President Lincoln. Chase must have dissented from the report of his views that Dr. Fuller made to the Governor and to the Mayor; and under the mortification of this Dr. Fuller wrote him: "I shall probably not see you any more; but, if carnage desolates the land, I will not cease to pray for you & (under God) to look to you for peace." In a postscript he adds: "Of course I shall say nothing of the letter; and no more as to our interview."[17] Chase kept no copies of his personal letters, and Dr. Fuller's papers, if they exist—and they probably are somewhere in Baltimore—would reveal the contents

[15] Andrew Johnson Papers, vol. 81, Library of Congress. Letter from Lewis D. Campbell to Johnson, Nov. 20, 1865.

[16] Chase Papers, Vol. 40, Jan. 4, 1861. For sketch of Bowie, see *The Bowies and Their Kindred*, by Walter W. Bowie, p. 199.

[17] *Ibid.*, Vol. 44, April 23, 1861.

of the Secretary's letters and what he said to the minister about their own two interviews.

But if Dr. Fuller promised to keep silent about his conversations with Chase, he put no such restrictions on himself when he talked with *The Sun* about his conference with the President, for the report goes on:

> Dr. Fuller expressed very earnestly the hope that no more troops would be ordered over the soil of his State. He remarked that Maryland had shed her blood freely in the War of Independence, that she was the first to move the adoption of the Constitution, and had only yielded her clinging attachment to the Union when the blood of her citizens had been shed by strangers on their way to a conflict with her sisters of the South.

Mr. Lincoln at once dissented from the pregnant part of this statement. He "insisted that he wanted troops only for the defense of the Capital, not for the invasion of the Southern States; 'and,' he said, 'I must have troops, and, mathematically, the necessity exists that they should come through Maryland. They can't crawl under the earth, and they can't fly over it, and mathematically they must come across it. Why, sir, those Carolinians are now crossing Virginia to come here and hang me, and what can I do?"

Waiving this aside, Dr. Fuller impressed upon him the importance of adopting a peace policy; and "Mr. Lincoln remarked that if he adopted it under the circumstances, there 'would be no Washington in that, no Jackson in that, no spunk in that!'"

Probably remembering that Jackson, when President, and faced with the Nullification issue in South Carolina, did, while making a show of resisting it, also adopt a peace policy which eventuated in removing the cause of the flareup, Dr. Fuller expressed the hope "that Mr. Lincoln would not allow 'spunk' to override patriotism."

On the question of recognizing the Confederacy, Mr. Lincoln said he doubted if he or Congress could do that. "With regard to the Government, he said 'he must run the machine as he found it."

When urged to bring no more troops through Baltimore, he replied: "Now sir, if you won't hit me, I won't hit you.

As the delegation was leaving, Mr. Lincoln said to one or two of the young men: "I'll tell you a story. You have heard of the

Irishman, who, when a fellow was cutting his throat with a dull razor, complained that he haggled it. Now if I can't have troops direct through Maryland, and must have them all the way round by water, or marched across out-of-the-way territory, I shall be haggled."

The delegation, on leaving the White House, "conferred together, and agreed on the hopelessness of their errand and the sad prospect of any good thing (coming) from such a source.

"God have mercy on us, when the government is placed in the hands of such a man!" one of the group exclaimed.[18]

Eliab Kingman, as he moved about Washington the day the young Baltimoreans visited the White House, interviewing this important politician and that one, and picking up the threads of public opinion from the many sources open to him, that night wove them into this story, which he wired *The Sun*:

> I have reason to believe that some of the most practical and influential of the Republican leaders of the Eastern and Middle States have come to the deliberate conclusion that . . . a peaceful separation from the Union of all the slave-holding States ought to be permitted and speedily provided for.
>
> If an outbreak of war on a large scale, and in or near the Capital, can be delayed for three months, a peaceful separation can and will be accomplished. The preparations made on both sides for war will aid in this consummation.[19]

One of those Kingman did not interview was the President. Public opinion in the Lincoln country was in favor of war, and the country was immediately plunged into mass murder.[20] This put an end to all intercourse between Dr. Fuller and the Secretary of the Treasury, with whom he held no further correspondence, by letter or otherwise, until 1862, when he got in financial distress through the operations of a Treasury agent. Early in January of that year he wrote Chase:

[18] *Baltimore Sun*, April 23, 1861.

[19] *Ibid.*

[20] Lyman Trumbull Papers, vols. 28, 38, and 39, Library of Congress. Letters of Horace White, editor of *The Chicago Tribune*, James C. Conkling of Springfield and State Treasurer Butler, among others. White wrote Trumbull, Dec. 30, 1860: "I take the liberty of saying that while every man I meet (Republican or Democrat) is perfectly frantic in view of the treason which is being consummated, all are cheered with the prospect of a good hearty fight on or about the 4th of March—a square knock-down and dragout . . . We live in revolutionary times, & I say God bless the revolution."

Shortly after Port Royal was taken, a gentleman who had gone with the fleet called & offered to buy my plantation there. Nothing—not all the money on earth—could induce me to *sell human beings*; so I declined.

I have just received a letter from Mr. Wayland [a Rhode Island chaplain, with whom he had had an historic controversy over slavery,] saying that my cotton is *locked* up, & the people in *want* of *shoes*, &c.

Would it be agreeable to your views, that I should send an agent to see after my interests there?

Those were the days when every man of Southern birth was suspect, and when those who lived in Baltimore were largely labeled traitors to the Union. In order to disarm such sentiment in Chase's mind, Dr. Fuller closed his letter with these words:

"I have not forgotten my intercourse with you last Spring; not ceased to pray for this unhappy land—that God's will be done, & if you believe me to be a Christian, you will know that I am, & shall be, in all things, obedient to the Government under which I live." [21]

A fortnight later, having received no reply to this humanitarian appeal, and having heard distressing news about the condition of the slaves on his plantation, he again wrote Chase about his *people.* His letter sheds light on a beautiful relation that existed on all large Southern plantations in those faroff days.

For many years [he said] I devoted myself—without salary—to the work of preaching the Gospel to those Negroes. Forgive me—as I write privately to you—for quoting from a letter received within a few days from Dr. Peck, who has gone there from Massachusetts. He is speaking of the leading man there, & says: "Jacob begs you to come on; he says 'The people will kiss the ground you tread on.'" Dr. Peck speaks of the "moral desolation," the utter demoralization there now. It must be so. Their masters & religious teachers & overseers have all gone, & the Negroes have pillaged & are pillaging wherever they can. Without a government—or rather—some organized discipline like that of the army, they will not work, except when they want food or something to gratify their senses & appetites.

Unless they be placed as once under strict regulations, they will swiftly degenerate into hordes of vagrant & forever irreclaimable outlaws. . . . My heart feels for these people, & whatever may be their future, the present is a crisis to them. You do not know them as I do.[22]

---

[21] Chase Papers, Vol. 55, January 14, 1862. Dr. Wayland was President of Brown University and a noted scholar. In a letter to Senator Harris of New York, (January 8, 1862) he detailed the financial distress of Dr. Fuller, owing to the seizure of his cotton. This letter Senator Harris sent to Chase.

[22] *Ibid.*, January 9, 1862.

Even this stirring appeal did not move Chase. No word came from him for the release of Dr. Fuller's cotton, the sale of which was so necessary to care for the hundred and fifty or more Negroes on his plantation. Late in February, in a letter introducing a brother minister from Philadelphia to the Secretary, he added this postscript, which referred to the recent death of the President's little son:

"Being myself a bereaved father, I have sympathized most sincerely with Mr. & Mrs. Lincoln, & I am sure you will kindly aid me in seeking to afford her some consolation, by sending to the Mother a sermon which I take the liberty to direct to you." [23]

Had Dr. Fuller known that in that moment of agony and grief at the White House, Chase did not write one word of sympathy to the bereaved parents, he might have given a different turn to his postscript.[24]

Still no action was taken by the Treasury to have Dr. Fuller's property restored to him.

Early in June, a group of Union men in Baltimore united in sending a letter to Dr. Fuller, "thanking me for the influence I have exerted in this city during the past year," he wrote Chase. "Some of our most excellent citizens," he called them. "I value it," he said, "because we live in a country where patriotism is now very much a thing dependent on the accident of one's birth-place." Even so, he still loved his beloved Southland.

"I would be a monster [he continued] if my heart had not deeply sympathized with my suffering family & friends at the South. But the religion of Jesus teaches me the most scrupulous loyalty to the government under which I live; & it is because I have thus felt & taught, that I have exerted any influence. Nor am I without hope that I may be of some humble service at the South, when Providence shall have opened an effectual door." [25]

July came, and still Chase had not moved to do a just thing to

[23] *Ibid.*, Vol. 56, February 24, 1862.

[24] Gideon Welles was the only member of the Cabinet to write Lincoln a letter of sympathy. The Lincoln Papers show that ex-President Pierce, Bishop McIlvaine, and Gen. McClellan were the only others to do so.

[25] Chase Papers, Vol. 60, June 10, 1862. For Dr. Fuller's credo, see *The Richmond Enquirer*, April 7, 1864, quoting from a letter he had recently written to *The New York Examiner* about his love for the Southern people. This letter closes with this sentiment: "He who believes that duty to a Government requires us not to love those allied to us, dishonors the Government, and insults the most sacred ties which God and nature have hallowed."

relieve the distress of his friend. Dr. Fuller reminded him of this by writing him that "58 bales of cotton were shipped from my place—with my mark—early in May." At current prices, they were valued at about ten thousand dollars, for sea island cotton brought the highest price in the market. The very thought of having to pay taxes in Baltimore and on his property in South Carolina alarmed him. "I find myself embarrassed," he told Chase, asking him if he could not see him on his next visit to Washington.[26]

They had the meeting; and Chase told the minister that the cotton was not in his hands, but in those of the Secretary of War.

While in Washington, Dr. Fuller called on Senator Anthony Kennedy of Maryland and the celebrated lawyer, Judge J. S. Black, who had been Attorney General and Secretary of State in Buchanan's Cabinet, and told them his story. Black, who was a friend of Secretary Stanton, saw that individual and interceded for Dr. Fuller. He told Stanton what Chase had said to the minister, and got a reply which illuminates the relations that existed between members of Lincoln's Cabinet. Black immediately wrote Senator Kennedy the result of this interview, Kennedy sent the letter to Dr. Fuller, and he forwarded it to Chase.[27] This is what Black wrote:

> Having an opportunity soon after I saw you yesterday to see the Sec. of War, I talked to him about Dr. Fuller's case. He utterly denies the truth of Mr. Chase's statement that he has anything to do with it. He says that it has never been referred to his department. He knows nothing about it, & will have nothing to do with it. The whole business connected with this cotton & with all other cotton taken by the army is curious, but I have not time to say more.[28]

In forwarding this letter to Chase, with another appeal that he either release the cotton or sell it and give him the proceeds, Dr. Fuller said: "The Government taxes I must pay, & for this I may be turned, with my afflicted family, out of my house—while the Govt. has my property, has freed my negroes, is working my lands, & when some thousand dollars of my cotton has been sold, the money paid in the Treasury. Can I be mistaken when I say that *you* will not allow this?" [29]

[26] *Ibid.*, Vol. 61, July 7, 1862.
[27] *Ibid.*, July 10, 1862.
[28] *Ibid.*, July 9, 1862.
[29] *Ibid.* Postscript to letter of July 10; see footnote 27.

At last Chase was compelled to answer Dr. Fuller's pleading letters. He insisted that Stanton held the Doctor's cotton. Replying to this, while thanking him for his letter, Dr. Fuller remarked: "Mr. Stanton, however, disclaims all connection with the matter." [30]

Two more weary months passed, and finally Chase admitted that the Treasury did have Dr. Fuller's cotton. His letter reached the minister in the mountains, where he was staying with his sick family, during which time the battle of Antietam was fought. "I was near the battles of last week," he wrote Chase, "& spent some time—day and night—among the wounded."

This letter closed on a lofty note of patriotism. "All my intercourse with you would have been insincere, had I not been conscious of scrupulous loyalty to the government," he said. "My religion teaches loyalty as a high Christan duty." [31]

Late in December of that year, Chase wrote Dr. Fuller that the Treasury really had his cotton, that it had been sold, and the money was then in the hands of the Collector of Customs in New York, Hiram Barney, "doing nobody any good," and that as soon as the Secretary of War directed its payment to him, it would be made.[32] In March of the following year the minister finally got his money. "To you," he wrote Chase, "I owe the entire settlement from first to last." [33] This was a charitable statement, to say the least.

A year was to intervene before Dr. Fuller again wrote the Secretary, and this time it was a very long letter, which Chase had solicited, regarding the status and future of the Negroes in the South, and what the Federal Government should do with and for them when the war ended. The picture the minister drew of the degradation into which the negroes had fallen during the war was pathetic and disturbing. The letter is much too long to quote in full. This one paragraph must suffice:

> For years I have foreseen this state of things, & in my poor way I have pleaded with the North & with the South, but have been misunderstood and misrepresented by both. Some of my friends here sold, & advised me to sell; & I could easily have sold these people for $130,000; but

[30] *Ibid.*, Vol. 62, July 21, 1862.
[31] *Ibid.*, Vol. 63, September 26, 1862.
[32] *Ibid.*, Vol. 69, December 31, 1862.
[33] *Ibid.*, Vol. 73, March 21, 1863.

welcome any penuary rather than sell a human being. Twice, within 20 years, have I made overtures to a number of rich men at the North, & professing to hate slavery, that I would relinquish one-half their value, if they would subscribe the other half, & join me in some experiment to educate & elevate these people as freedmen; but not a single response could I procure.[34]

Chase never replied to this letter, any more than did he reply to the remarkable letter he received in 1861 from Walter W. W. Bowie.

In December, 1864, President Lincoln appointed him the Chief Justice of the United States. Dr. Fuller, among others, congratulated him warmly, saying "this appointment is only an act of justice, which reflects more honor on the President & Senate than on you."[35] Had he known how Chase and the Radicals intrigued to get the honor, he might not have been so certain that justice had anything to do with it.[36]

In the same letter, Dr. Fuller revealed that "twice I have been applied to & consulted about going South with men accredited by Mr. Lincoln." Both times he declined. "These men are only bidding for notoriety," he told Chase. "The time is not yet, but it will come, & then I may say to you, 'Who knows but thou hast come to the Kingdom for such a time as this?'"[37] When that time came, the minister and the Chief Justice answered the call together.

A week after President Lincoln's death, Dr. Fuller wrote his last letter to Chase. Some days previous to that bloody event, he had entertained the Chief Justice in his home, and they must have talked long and soberly about the reconstruction of the Southern States, now that the Confederacy was rapidly crumbling to earth.

May I not beg you to give your thought to the manner in which *true union & harmony* can be restored in this country? [he asked the Chief Justice]. Civil war has ceased—as you said it would when I saw you here. By strength the husband has overcome his spirited & mutinous wife. But how is domestic peace to be restored?

The fast day is appointed. I have never carried party politics into the

---

[34] *Ibid.*, Vol. 86. Letter marked "Private & Confidential," and dated January 25, 1864.

[35] *Ibid.*, Vol. 94, December 14, 1864.

[36] The Lincoln Papers reveal the intrigues that went on among the Radicals to get Chase on the court. Lincoln held them off until Chase took the stump for his re-election. The appointment was payment for the support of the Radicals.

[37] Chase Papers, Vol. 94, December 14, 1864.

pulpit, but God & the country require that on that day I shall say: "Slavery must be regarded as obsolete." I love—have ever loved—the Union, & it must be restored without any misunderstanding as to the right of Secession. I submit to you that it ought to mitigate the asperity felt towards the South when it is considered that they acted upon a conviction of a constitutional right to secede. Are jurists unanimous on that point? Do think on this point; & if possible let me have a line from you.

Can you inform me what are President Johnson's views? I hope you have influence with him.

This remarkable correspondence of the war years ended with this sentiment: "I thank God you were spared from these assassins." [38] Not a word concerning the victim of that most foul assassination.

Chase, so far as we know, never answered this letter; and Dr. Fuller never learned how jurists thought on the question of Secession. In a few weeks the Chief Justice went on his historic vote-getting tour of the South, building his fences for the 1868 Presidential nomination, and speaking everywhere to the freedmen. Dr. Fuller accompanied him, as his invited guest, as far as South Carolina; and Whitelaw Reid, the noted Washington correspondent of *The Cincinnati Gazette*, was in the party, sharing a stateroom with the minister. Much of what Reid wrote during the early part of the tour concerned Dr. Fuller. When the party reached Port Royal, they visited Dr. Fuller's plantation. Reid describes a scene that took place in the plantation chapel there, where the minister had often preached to his *people*. The Chief Justice spoke to the Negroes, followed by others, among them their old master. Then—

Dr. Fuller rose to pronounce the benediction, and all reverently bowed their heads . . . The few words of blessing were soon said; and then came a rush to the stand, "to speak to Massa Richard." Men and women pressed forward indiscriminately; the good Doctor, in a moment, found both his hands busy, and stood, like a patriarchal shepherd, amid his flock. They pushed up against him, kissed his hands, passed their hands over his hair, crowded about, eager to get a word of recognition. "Sure, you 'member me, Massa Rich'd; I'm Tom." "Laws, Massa Rich'd, I mind ye when ye's a little 'un." "Don't ye mind, Massa Rich'd, when I used to gwine gunnin' wid ye?" . . . So the string of interrogatories and salutations stretched out.

---

[38] *Ibid.*, Vol. 95, April 20, 1865. If this omission seems shocking, let it not be forgotten that Chase refused to go to Lincoln's bedside when he was sent for and recorded the fact in his diary.

This beautiful scene made a profound impression on some members of that party of Northern men. " 'I haven't liked him much,' said an officer of our cutter, standing near, whose rough-and-ready oaths had sometimes provoked a rebuke from the minister, 'but *I take back every harsh thought. I'd give all I'm worth, or ever* hope to be worth, to be loved by as many people as love him.' "[39] So Reid wrote.

And who wouldn't? What would we not give for a peek at Chase's thoughts on that remarkable scene?

[39] Whitelaw Reid, *After the War* (1866), p. 111.

A COMMENTARY ON CERTAIN WORDS AND EXPRESSIONS USED IN MARYLAND

By William B. Marye

THE following commentary on certain locutions in use, or until lately, in use in Maryland, more particularly in the Eleventh District of Baltimore County, was written upon making a study of Dr. Hans Kurath's *A Word Geography of the Eastern United States.** The fact that most of the words hereinafter mentioned are not taken up in the *Word Geography* is not to be considered as an adverse criticism of that work.

The Eleventh District of Baltimore County lies for the most part between the two streams or rivers known, respectively, as the Great and Little Falls of Gunpowder River, and to the natives as the Big and Little Falls. In old times this region was called the Forks of Gunpowder. Almost within the memory of man the two streams, which now unite in the mud flats opposite the site of Joppa Town, had separate mouths with a stretch of shoreline between them. The tide formerly made up the Big Falls to the Big Mills, at the first cascade, about a hundred feet above the B. & O. Railroad bridge. On the Little Falls it made up to Dieter's mill, where the former Philadelphia Road crossed the stream. Settlement of the Forks along the short stretch of tidal shoreline began as early as 1661, but the planting of the backwoods or *forest* did not start until about 1699. At present a flood of newcomers, mostly from Baltimore City, is taking possession of the older part of the district which lies between the Harford Road and the head of Gunpowder River. This self-invited invasion brings with it the elimination of landmarks and much that is

* See author's review on pp. 140-141.—Editor.

picturesque and reminiscent of the past. Along with the local charm, local pecularities of speech, also, are bound to go.

In order to be on the safe side and to avoid all suspicion of error on the part of the reader, I have, in doubtful cases, conferred with a number of my old friends and neighbors, all, like myself, natives of the Upper Falls-Kingsville neighborhood, Eleventh District, Baltimore County, and all intimately acquainted with farming, namely, Messrs. Walter Chapman, Henry Joseph Raphel, Amedee Alexis Raphel, and John Beale Howard Rumsey. For advising me as to certain word usages in Harford County I am indebted to my cousin, Dr. William S. Hall. Mr. Felix R. Sullivan, Jr., an amateur sportsman and fisherman, who has had long experience with, and has been very observant of, local peculiarities of speech in this state, particularly on the Eastern Shore, has given me most valuable advice.

BRANCH—RUN—BROOK [1]

In Maryland the use of the word *brook* is urban, literary, or poetical. Freshwater streams in the older counties of the state are commonly referred to as *branches* [2] by the natives, in case they have no special name. One says, for example, "let's go down to the branch," or "the branch overflowed the pasture field." Named streams are either this or that branch or such and such a run, and so it has been from earliest times. In tidewater Maryland *creek* means a salt-water inlet, too large to be called a gut. Short of Western Maryland I know of only three freshwater streams called *creeks*, namely, Deer Creek, Little Deer Creek, and Broad Creek, all in Harford County. In Western Maryland, including Montgomery County, we have Rock Creek, Little and Big Pipe Creeks, Double Pipe Creek, Linganore Creek, and many streams farther west which are called *creeks*. Very small streams are called *spring branches*; never *spring runs*. This seems to be true all over Maryland. This writer has read all patented Maryland land-certificates from the earliest down to 1730, or thereabouts, and a great many later land-certificates, both patented and unpatented, and has met with the word *brook* only in one solitary instance, so far as he can remember.[3] The compilers of *A Word Geography* find that *brook* is the word in use in New England, and that it is in common use in New

[1] Hans Kurath, *A Word Geography of the Eastern United States* (Ann Arbor, Univ. of Michigan Press, 1949), Figure 93.

[2] In addition to the words *run* and *branch* the county surveyors of colonial Maryland, in their reports, frequently used the word *drain* or the words a *run of water* to designate a freshwater stream.

[3] The certificate of survey of Woolsey Manor, laid out for Philip Calvert, August 18, 1664, calls for *Killinbeck Brooke*. Land Office of Maryland, Patent Records for Land, Liber VII, f. 276.

York State, in northern and north-eastern Pennsylvania, in northern and central New Jersey. Farther south its use is urban or literary. No explanation of these phenomena seems to be at hand. These ancient usages have a dignity of their own, and it is not too much to say that the person responsible for the sign on the Harford Road reading "Long Green Creek," instead of Long Green Run, has done us a disservice which is less trivial than may at first appear.

FRESHWATER STREAMS CALLED FALLS

Baltimore County and parts adjacent thereto seem to be the only area in the United States where there are rivers and streams called *falls*. However, not each and every stream was called a *falls*, but only certain ones. The custom came into being in the following manner: Early settlers on two estuaries of Chesapeake Bay, Patapsco River, and Gunpowder River, by way of making a distinction, called the main freshwater rivers which emptied into the heads of these tidal rivers, the *falls* of these rivers. Hence, Patapsco *Falls*, or the Main *Falls* of Patapsco; the Great and Little *Falls* of Gunpowder River, which are known to the local inhabitants as the Big Falls and the Little Falls, respectively. Jones's *Falls* are the *falls* of the North West Branch of Patapsco River;[4] Gwynn's *Falls*, the *falls* of the Middle Branch. The usage extended to Gwynn's Little Falls, an old name for Gwynn's Run, and the Western or Delaware Falls of Patapsco,[5] as the South Branch of Patapsco Falls was formerly called. With these two examples the tendency to designate as a *falls* a stream which did not empty directly into a tidal river, stopped. Winter's Run and Bynam's Run

[4] That well known tract of land, "Lunn's Lott," now in the heart of Baltimore City, was laid out for Edward Lunn of Anne Arundel County, 10 October, 1672, on the North side of Patapsco River "upon ye North West branch, beginning at a bounded hickory standing on the west side of the *ffalls* of ye sd. Branch." (Rent Roll of Baltimore County, Calvert Papers No. 883, f. 181). "Saint Mary Bourne," surveyed for George Hickson, May 20, 1669, lies "in the Northwest branch of the river [Patapsco], and "upon the Main Run of the branch." (Land Office of Maryland, Patent Records for Land, Liber XII, f. 276.) The tide formerly came up Jones's Falls to what is now the intersection of the viaduct and the Fallsway. Here were situated the lowest cascades on that stream, and here, 1711-14, Jonathan Hanson built the first mill on the "falls." The old ford on the road which became the Philadelphia Road was situated on Jones's Falls at this point. David Jones, who gave his name to the stream, lived, it is said, somewhere near this place. "Talbott's Plaines," 620 acres, surveyed for Edward Talbott, 10 January, 1688, is described in part as follows: "lieng [*sic*] in Baltemore County on the south side of the falls of Patapsco called Jones falls beginning att a bound Hickory tree being the second bounded tree of a pcll of Land of Edw. Lunns [Lunn's Lott] standing near the sd falls." (Land Office of Maryland, Unpatented Certificate No. 828, Baltimore County.)

[5] "The Northern Addition," surveyed for Philip Hammond, May 4, 1745, is described as situated "on the south side of the *Western Falls* of Patapsco River and runs to Delaware Bottom branch. (Land Office of Maryland, Patent Records for Land, Liber T. I. No. 1, f. 532.) On October 26, 1779, there was advertised for sale in the *Maryland Journal and Baltimore Advertizer*, "Head Quarters," and other tracts of land adjoining thereto, situated in part upon the *Western* or *Delaware Falls* of Patapsco River.

were never so styled. The usual name for the Patuxent above the head of tidewater was the *freshies* of that river, in case a distinction was drawn. Readers who are unfamiliar with this part of the country should know that the rivers and streams above mentioned, owing to the structure of the rocks over which they flow, have no "falls" properly speaking. They have only cascades and rapids.

Hands, meaning workers in the field

It is no news that the use of the words *hands* or *field-hands* for workers in the field, not the owner of the land or his tenants, is very widespread in this country and customary in the South. We have no information as to how far to the north it extends. This local usage has the dignity of age behind it. John Hammond in *Leah and Rachel* (1656) gives the following advice to the would-be immigrant to Maryland or Virginia: "that he work not much in hot weather, a course we alwayes take with our new hands (as they call them) the first year they come in." [6]

In an inventory of the estates of Captain George Gouldsmith and of his widow, Mrs. Mary Boston, of Baltimore County, about 1678, I find the following item: "3 new hands 2 men and a woman." [7]

Woodchuck—groundhog—monack

Woodchuck is the word commonly used in the North. Groundhog is the regular name for the same animal in Maryland. This writer's father, who was brought up in the Northern Neck of Virginia, always said *monack*, and I have heard him affirm that until he came to live in Maryland, he knew no other word for the creature. According to *The Handbook of American Indians*, the Indian word, monack or moonack, is "the Maryland-Virginia name for the groundhog." [8] The *Handbook* cites an instance of the use of the word from Glover's account of Virginia, 1676, but an even earlier instance may be cited for Maryland. This will be found in George Alsop's *Character of the Province of Maryland* (1661). [9] *Webster's New International Dictionary*, 2nd Edition, Unabridged, gives: monack or moonack—obsolete, except dialectical U. S. Where, if anywhere, in Maryland is this word still in use?

Bloody, for bullfrog

In the eastern part of the Eleventh District of Baltimore County country boys who hunted bullfrogs, called them *bloodies*. This was my experience, and it is confirmed by Messrs, H. J. Raphel, A. A. Raphel, Rumsey and Chapman. Mr. A. A. Raphel tells me that he still uses the word. Dr. Hall,

[6] C. C. Hall (ed.), *Narratives of Early Maryland, 1633-1684* (New York, 1910), p. 293.

[7] Taken by me from a volume of Inventories and Accounts (ca. 1678), Hall of Records, Annapolis.

[8] *Handbook of American Indians*, Bulletin 30, Bureau of American Ethnology, Part 1, p. 940.

[9] Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

speaking for Harford County, calls bullfrogs *bloody-nouns*, a term new to us. Bloody-nouns is a nickname for bullfrogs which is common in many parts of the United States.[10] The word is imitative of the croaking of a frog. *Bloodies* is probably derived from it and may be strictly local.

GUST OR THUNDERGUST

The *Century Dictionary* has: "thundergust—a thunderstorm (rare)." The *Oxford English Dictionary* gives us: "thundergust—chiefly U. S.—a strong gust of wind accompanying a thunder-storm." Until recently, *thundergust* and *gust* were not "rare" but the usual words for thunderstorm in the older counties of Maryland. High winds were neither meant nor implied, although heavy thunderstorms are uncommon without them. In my home in Baltimore County the cry "a gust is coming up" was the signal for the servants and the family to rush about and close the windows. The prediction of a *gust* cast a damper on plans for a picnic or a fishing and crabbing party at the Philadelphia Club House on Bush River, Mr. Bowerman's shore on Bird River, Pot Rocks or the Big Mills on the Big Falls. The use of these words in this sense is, if not as old as the hills, probably as ancient in Maryland as the settlement of the province. The anonymous author of *A Relation of Maryland* (1635) says respecting the climate of the colony: "The Windes are variable; from the South comes Heat, Gusts, and Thunder. . . ." [11]

In a report to the Lords of Trade and Plantations, which was read at a meeting of the Council held at Annapolis on December 21, 1761, Governor Sharpe comments in part as follows concerning the climate of Maryland: ". . . the Summers here from May till the Beginning of September are generally very hot . . . [and] during that season there are frequent Gusts or Violent Thunder Showers which commonly come from the North West and cool the Air. . . ." [12]

In his farm journal, which is now the property of the Maryland Historical Society, Judge Thomas Jones made the following entry under date of July, 1777: "Wind westerly . . . a Thunder Gust wth Rain." Under date of June, 1782, Judge Jones mentions a violent *gust* with continuous lightning.

From "A Particular Tax List of Patapsco Lower Hundred," Baltimore County, we quote the following quaint and semi-humorous use of the word thundergust: "Abraham Van Bibber—Paradice—190 acres—say 188 acres of land. A Thundergust Mill. . . . The stream [Stony Run] on which the mill is fix^{d} is quite insufficient to work her."

[10] Albert Hazen Wright and Anna Allen Wright, *The Frogs and Toads of the U. S. and Canada*, (Ithaca, N. Y.: 1942), pp. 176, 191-182, 294. Thanks are due to Mr. R. Mansueti, of the Department of Research and Education, Solomons, Maryland, for referring me to this work. I am indebted to Mr. R. V. Truitt, Director of the Department, for putting me in touch with Mr. Mansueti.

[11] Hall, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

[12] *Archives of Maryland*, XXXII, 22.

Redbud vs. Judas tree

Both words are given as common names for *cersis canadiensis* in Sargent's *Manual of the Trees of North America.* The *Oxford Dictionary* gives *Judas tree* as the English word for the European variety, redbud as American. For the American word, redbud, it cites an example from the year 1717. This reviewer was brought up to say *Judas tree.* My neighbors, Messrs. Chapman, Rumsey and H. J. Raphel, never heard this tree called the redbud. Dr. Hall affirms the same thing. There is evidence in place-names, however, that redbud is a word which was formerly in use in this part of Maryland. *Redbud* Point and *Redbud* Neck were names of places on Delph Creek, now in the Aberdeen Proving Ground. On Chesapeake Bay in Gunpowder Neck, also in the Proving Ground, there was *Redbud* Point.[13] We must remember that a place-name may preserve a word long after that word has ceased to be used locally. Even so, in looking for a possible shift from one word area to another in times past, we may find a case such as the one here suspected to be not without value.

Yellow ned for yellow perch

Webster's New International Dictionary, has: yellow ned—the yellow perch. That yellow perch were known as yellow neds in my neighborhood of Baltimore County is confirmed by Mr. H. J. Raphel. Yellow ned was the word in regular use in Bush River, Gunpowder River, and Bird River. This writer has fished all over these rivers many years back, heard and used the word time and again. It is well known on the Eastern Shore, according to Mr. Sullivan.

Harvest home

For several generations, if not for much longer, the congregation of Saint John's Church, Kingsville, Baltimore County, has celebrated the *harvest home* by a fair and supper. It would be interesting to know if any other old parish churches, or other country churches, regularly hold fairs once a year under that name.[14] Funk and Wagnall's *New Standard*

[13] Harford County Historical Society Papers, Field Book of Thomas White, 1725-1745: "Planter's Delight" resurveyed, Oct. 9, 1734. Mr. White ran a line to the edge of the marsh on Delph [Creek], opposite to *Redbud point.* Depositions on "Jackson's Hazard," 1759, near Delf (or Delph) Creek. Depositions of Daugarty and Donavin both refer to *Redbud Neck.* (Balto. County Court Proceedings, Liber H. W. S. No. 4, Land Commissions, f. 274. "Coheirs Lott Revised," surveyed for John Hall et al., 1763: The surveyor began for "Timber Proof" on a point by a marsh at the head of Delph Creek, the said point being known as *Redbud Point.* ((Land Office of Maryland, Patented Certificate No. 1115, Baltimore County.) Delph Creek is a small tidal inlet which makes up from the Bay, between the mouth of Romney Creek and the lower end of Spesutia Narrows, in Harford County, a little below Old Woman's Point. Will of Samuel Ricketts, of Gunpowder Neck, Harford County, dated Feb. 14, 1823: testator in dividing his lands mentions a point on (Chesapeake) Bay in Gunpowder Neck, called *Redbud* Point. (Wills, Bel Air, Maryland, Liber S. R. No. 1, f. 275.)

[14] Dr. Hall knows the *harvest home* only by hearsay and Mr. Sullivan has not heard of it.

Dictionary gives: "harvest-home, a church service of thanksgiving held at harvest time."

TIDAL COVE FOR 'HOLLOW'

Examples of this curious usage are confined, so far as I know, to Patapsco and Gunpowder Rivers. Canton *Hollow* is a cove of the Patapsco. Day's *Hollow*, Jeffry's *Hollow*, and Frenchman's *Hollow* are coves of Gunpowder River. The last named undoubtedly takes its name from the founder of the Raphel family, a French gentleman refugee from Martinique, whose name was Raphel de Lay, who bought land from the Presbury's and settled in Gunpowder Neck in 1799. I am under the impression that I have heard Ridgely's Cove, Patapsco River, called Ridgely's *Hollow*. The transfer of hollow from land to water is matched by the use of *cove* in mountain districts.

'TEA' MEANING SUPPER

Young people are not pleased when their elders use expressions which to them sound excessively quaint. In this way a word-usage which is on the wane, is speeded on its way to oblivion. When we had to hire an extra hand to plow the garden, my mother used to say that she supposed we should have to *find* him. This use of *find* for *serve with meals*, which was in accord with the best English usage, seemed to me too old fashioned to be attractive. I suppose that before my day the then younger generation discarded those obsolescent but useful words, victuals and genteel. In my day I never heard *victuals* from an educated person, except when someone remarked with a smile that R. S. V. P. meant *right smart victuals provided*. As for *genteel*, I will refrain from using the word, if someone will tell me what word has taken its place. I used to think that saying *tea* instead of supper was plain, homely, and unpleasantly "countryfied." If my Baltimore friends did not have dinner in the evening, they had supper. But in my childhood days my family almost always said *tea* and so did our neighbors. This usage has a southern flavor, is found in Virginia, on the Eastern Shore of Maryland, and was probably at one time common in all of the older counties of the Western Shore. Was it ever common in Philadelphia or elsewhere in the Midland Speech Area outside of Baltimore County and, perhaps, Harford?

SIMLIN OR CYMLIN FOR SQUASH

According to the *Century Dictionary*, simlin is "Southern and Western U. S." It is the word we commonly used in the Eleventh District of Baltimore County. Mr. Sullivan reports this word as in common use on the Eastern Shore of Maryland.

PIAZZA VS. PORCH [15]

Beating a retreat is not supposed to be a movement characteristic of Southerners, but in Maryland there seems to have been once a tendency

[15] Kurath, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 45, 49, 52; Figures 35 and 43.

on the part of certain words which now have southern associations to retire towards the south. In seeking an explanation of this phenomenon and not finding it, I am reminded of a song which was popular in the Southern army and which began: "There's too much Yankee doodle-do in Maryland, my Maryland." There is more of the same thing today but far be it from us to imply that there could be too much. One of the words which seems to have found the climes of Baltimore and Harford Counties too northern for its taste, is the word *piazza.* Some time in the past century the natives of these two counties ceased to speak of their *piazzas* and began to call them *porches.* An examination of the particular tax lists of the old subdivisions or hundreds of Harford County for the year 1798 brings to light forty-one piazzas and not a single porch. Particular tax lists of Baltimore County hundreds for the years 1798-1799 contain mention of forty-six piazzas as against three porches.[16]

Indian hen vs. skauk or skouk

Mr. Sullivan reports that the small blue heron, which is known in Baltimore County as the Indian hen, is called the skauk or skouk on the Eastern Shore of Maryland. There they have a custom which I never heard of before, namely, of cutting the bird in two and using the two parts for crab bait. In old times one seldom approached an ice-pond without flushing up an *Indian hen.*

Mountain laurel vs. ivy

Funk and Wagnall's *New Standard Dictionary* has: ivy tree—the American laurel. According to the *Word Atlas ivy* is the name for mountain laurel in some parts of Connecticut.[17] This writer's father, a Virginian, whose pecularities of speech were those of the Northern Neck, always called laurel *ivy.* This beautiful shrub, *kalmia latifolia,* is, so far as we know, everywhere called laurel or mountain laurel in Maryland today. No doubt this has been the case for a long time;[18] but there is some reason to believe that, with respect to Baltimore County, and probably elsewhere in the state, a shift from *ivy* to *laurel* took place in the eighteenth century. The first recorded name for Long Green Run is *Ivy* Run, a name which is appropriate to the beautiful deep hollow through which this stream flows to empty into the Great Falls of Gunpowder River. In the year 1749 Josephus Murray, testifying before a land commission which was held to determine the bounds of "Ely O'Carroll," proved the beginning tree of that land, a white oak, standing "in a hollow bottom

[16] The Particular Tax Lists which I examined were those of the following hundreds: Baltimore County—Patapsco Lower, Patapsco Upper, Soldiers Delight, Middle River Upper, Back River Upper, Middlesex and Gunpowder Upper; Harford County—Spesutia Lower, Harford Lower, Bush River Lower, Deer Creek Lower and Broad Creek. In the two last named I found mention of no piazzas.

[17] Kurath, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

[18] In the Particular Tax List of Patapsco Lower Hundred, ca. 1799, there is a list of the improvements at *Laurell Mills* (on Jones's Falls) belonging to Elisha Tyson.

near the foot of a high *Ivy* Hill," about two hundred yards from Jones's Falls, on a branch called Talbot's Great Horse Pasture Branch.[19] "Ely O'Carroll" lies south of Green Spring Valley, and both south and west of Jones's Falls. The stream mentioned in Josephus Murray's deposition is now called Moores Run.

Moccasin (a fish)

Moccasin is the name of a fish closely resembling the sunfish which is taken in Spesutia Narrows and Swan Creek, in Harford County. When this writer first heard of the *moccasin* years ago, he was told that it was a very large sunfish, which was caught only in the Narrows and nowhere else. That it is also taken in near-by Swan Creek is certain. For this information I am indebted to Miss Anne Isabella Hall, who has lived on Swan Creek where her family has been living for generations and who speaks from experience. Miss Hall describes the *moccasin* as differing from the ordinary sunfish in that it has a very bright orange spot on the gills. Mr. Parker Mitchell, Sr., of Perryman, Harford County, who was born on the Mulberry Point farm, at the lower entrance to the Narrows, reports as follows: "In reference to the Sun fish which were caught on Spesutia Narrows, that is true, and they were called Moccasins. They were very fine large delicious fish, very much sought after."

The ordinary sunfish is a scrap fish, full of bones, and in this writer's opinion, "very poor eating." This is another point of difference between it and the *moccasin*. Mr. R. Mansueti, of the Department of Research and Education, Solomons, Maryland, has never heard of the *moccasin* by that name and is, therefore, not in a position to identify the fish.[20] From the point of view of the *Word Geography*, the question is: does the moccasin occur elsewhere and, if so, by what other name is it known?

Lumber room

According to the *Word Geography*, lumber room (for store room) is "the Virginia Piedmont and Tidewater term, which is now current on the Eastern Shore of Virginia (but not of Maryland) and in the Valley of Virginia." It is a room used for storing "old furniture and utensils," situated in the attic or cellar.[21] Figure 33 of the *Word Geography* shows the northern limits of the use of this word by means of a dotted line which descends in a southerly direction from a point on the Pennsylvania-Maryland boundary line to the neighborhood of Harper's Ferry, and runs thence in a descending line through Western Maryland and Southern Maryland and across the Bay to the northern limits of the Eastern Shore of Virginia. Figure 52 shows by means of a sign the home of a witness who testified for the use of the expression *lumber room* north-east of Baltimore

[19] Baltimore County Court Proceedings, Land Commissions, Liber H. W. S. No. 4, f. 177.

[20] I am much indebted to Mr. Mansueti for his careful consideration of this subject and his report thereon.

[21] Kurath, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

City, in or very near this writer's own neighborhood. My family said *store room*, but my neighbor, Mr. A. A. Raphel tells me that he used to say *lumber room*. Dr. Hall reports *lumber room* as used in Harford County in his younger days. It would appear as if *lumber room* has in recent years retreated southwards in Maryland and is making a stand along the dotted line indicated in Figure 33. In my opinion the word *lumber* was formerly used in the same sense in Baltimore and Harford Counties, but the expression which we find was *lumber house*, an outbuilding; and if some houses had store-rooms which were called *lumber rooms*, as seems likely, we have no mean of finding out whether or not this is so. In our part of Maryland the store-house was generally a room in an outbuilding, namely, a room over the ice-house. In our case it was used not only for storage of broken furniture, planks, and old discarded books, but was the place where pears were set out on shelves to ripen. It seems to me very likely that before the days of ice-houses many farms in that part of Maryland had separate buildings for the storage of such things, which their owners were too prudent to destroy or throw away. Such, I believe, are the *lumber houses* which are mentioned in many particular tax lists of Baltimore and Harford Counties, dating from 1798 and 1799. In these tax lists, which may be seen at the library of the Maryland Historical Society, I find seventeen *lumber houses* mentioned as part of the improvements on farms in Harford County; twelve mentioned for Baltimore County. These tax lists are not complete for all of the different *hundreds* of these counties; for example, for Harford County Gunpowder Lower Hundred is missing.

These old particular tax lists of lands, houses, outhouses, mills, taverns, etc. situated within the various old sub-divisions called *hundreds* of these two counties, reveal other facts of interest to the word geographer. A century and a half ago *corn-house*,[22] not corn crib, was the word in common use, and *corn-house* it is today; and the solitary mention of a *corn crib* in the tax list of Soldiers Delight and Patapsco Hundreds as against multitudes of corn houses is merely a curious fact, not a symptom of change. The expression *necessary* or *necessary house* is not heard today in Maryland.[23] The word occurs four times in a Harford County particular tax list of 1799.

Lizard

Retreating words seem to leave behind stragglers in the person of natives who know them of old but more often than not refrain from using them. This writer begins to feel like one of these stragglers. One of my old neighbors tells me that the horse-drawn contraption which we called a *lizard* is now called a sled. It was V-shaped, made out of two logs or the fork of a tree, across which boards were nailed, between which rested a barrel. It was used to haul water from the branch for the "thrashing" machine, and it was fun for boys to ride on it and to help fill the barrel.

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 54.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 53, Figure 55.

Stonyhead

A name commonly used in the eastern part of the Eleventh District of Baltimore County to describe a small freshwater fish which was common in the streams of that neighborhood. The stonyhead would not take bait. Jigging or catching in a net were the only sure ways of taking this fish. Mr. H. J. Raphel has heard the stonyhead called the *stony mullet*. Dr. Hall has taken *stonyhead mullets* in Bynams Run. Mr. Mansueti identifies the stonyhead, tentatively, as a member of the sucker family, elsewhere known as the hog sucker, stonesucker or stoneroller.

Slough

A very rare word among the place-names of Maryland, of which I know of only one example. *Crossmore's Slough* is a tidal inlet of the Great Falls of Gunpowder River, which heads up near the new Philadelphia Road. It is separated from the Great Falls by a field called Little Neck and by alluvial land formerly called Day's Fishery. The Slough is obviously the old bed of the Falls, but local land records reveal the fact that the present bed dates from earliest historical times. Until 1917 the farm on both sides of the Slough belonged to the Crossmore family, hence the name by which this creek is known. In colonial times the Slough was called Little Creek. The King family preceded the Crossmores as owners of the farm, in whose time it was called Charmony Hall. At the time of the Revolution John Hammond Dorsey lived on the place in a brick house the site of which is marked by a hole in the ground.

Five fingered ivy

In my neighborhood this pretty climbing plant, which city people often mistake for poison oak, was commonly known by the above name. Rarely, if ever, was it called Virginia creeper. The *Century Dictionary* (Supplement) gives *five finger* as a local word for Virginia creeper; also *five-leafed-ivy*.

Land terrapin vs. box tortoise or box turtle

In my younger days I never heard any name but *land terrapin* for this creature, whose flattened remains are so often seen on Maryland country roads. I do not find *land terrapin* in any American dictionary, however. The time is doubtless near when the expression will be heard only from the mouth of "old farmer Hayseed," whose quaint speech will be the subject of indulgent laughter at the supper tables of Baltimoreans the evening after an excursion into the county.

Calathumpian serenade

Dr. Hans Kurath, in his *Word Geography of the Eastern United States* (p. 26) attributes the use of the word *calathump*, meaning a mock serenade, to "the New Haven Colony," and finds relics of its use on

the Delaware and on the Eastern Shore of Maryland (p. 78 and Figure 154). He finds this word in use in central Pennsylvania and on the upper James in Virginia. According to Kurath (p. 79), *tin panning* is the word for mock serenade " on both sides of the Bay " in Maryland and is " one of the few expressions confined to Maryland." Natives who used this expression were interviewed in the upper parts of Baltimore and Harford Counties (Figure 154). Apparently no one was consulted on this subject in the eastern parts of these counties. This may account for the fact that the use of the expression *calathumpian serenade* in the Eleventh District of Baltimore County was not noted. I never heard of *tin panning* until I consulted Kurath's *Word Geography*.

The calathumpian serenade was a mock concert tendered to newly wedded coples by their more or less well meaning country neighbors. Serenaders of good will were sure of forgiveness, while the malacious had the satisfaction of causing great annoyance under cover of paying a compliment. Tin pans, cow bells and horns were the musical instruments which were commonly called into play, and the serenade could be heard from a great distance. The serenaders surrounded the house where the happy pair was staying and commanded them to come forth, in case they were not already visible. Embarrassing remarks and questions were shouted at the bride. In return for the serenade the blissful couple was expected to provide refreshments for the serenaders, generally cider or beer. The calathumpian serenade was no exclusive affair. Any neighborhood ne'er-do-well might join the band, was, indeed, welcome. This writer once helped a bride and groom, who were too old for this sort of stimulation, and who didn't fancy it anyhow, to close up the house, after persuading the servants to go to bed, and decamp in the dark across fields to the home of friendly neighbors, when word was brought that a troop of serenaders, under the leadership of a habitual tippler, was assembling at " the corner " with the intention of moving on to their residence in order to give them a calathumpian. The danger was either non-existent, or the would-be serenaders were tipped off, for they never arrived.

Conclusion

Among the words which one misses today are names for good things to eat or to drink which, seemingly, are not prepared any more. Mangoes, which were tied up in cheese cloth and pickled, no longer appear on the dinner table; neither do rusks and sally lunn. Flummery seems to be forgotten along with rice-milk. Cheery bounce, that ancient Maryland home-made beverage, no longer goes to our heads, and those delightful cooling drinks, raspberry vinegar and sangaree, are probably never more served on our country porches of a hot summer afternoon. It was in 1744 that the traveler, Dr. Alexander Hamilton, was ferried across Gunpowder River from Edward Day's (Taylor's Mount) to Joppa Town, as he has noted down in his *Itinerarium*. At Joppa he fell in with the Reverend Hugh Dean, the then rector of Saint John's Parish, and they

drank a bowl (*sic*) of sangaree together.[24] A hundred and fifty years later descendants of families, members of which he had baptized, married and buried, were still drinking sangaree in the same old neighborhood. He built the house now an inn at Kingsville, and died in 1777, gone but, for a long time, not quite forgotten. My old neighbor, the late Stephen Haven Wilson, used to relate a story about him and his intimate friend, Judge Benjamin Rumsey of Joppa. Such was continuity and tradition in an old country neighborhood, which a heterogeneous invasion from Baltimore City and other causes are now engaged in destroying forever.

These good things to eat, these drinks, cooling or heating, of bygone days, will ever be associated in my mind with the fans made of peacock feathers, which used to stand in the corners of our dining room, except at meal times, when the maid used them to keep on the move the swarm of buzzing flies which, brazenly avoiding the fly-trap and the sheets of sticky-fly-paper which were set out in the kitchen, invaded the dining room by way of the butler's pantry, if they did not come in through the screenless windows. These peacock tail feathers were arranged, not fan-wise, but in a circle. The peacocks, to which they had belonged, died out before my day. Only the tail feathers survived, showing the durability of things commonly regarded as instruments of vanity:

"Where is the Pompadour now? This was the Pompadour's fan!"

[24] Carl Bridenbaugh, editor, *Gentleman's Progress. The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton 1744* (Chapel Hill, 1948), p. 5. In the *Oxford Dictionary* the earliest mention of sangaree cited is from the *Gentleman's Magazine,* Sept., 1736. The price of a quart of madeira made into sangaree as of 1770 is quoted in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography,* XII (1905), 188.

REVIEWS OF RECENT BOOKS

The Papers of Thomas Jefferson. Edited by JULIAN P. BOYD; LYMAN H. BUTTERFIELD and MINA R. BRYAN, Associate Editors. Princeton Univ. Press, 1950, 1951. Vol. 1 (1760-1776), lviii, 679 pp:; Vol. 2 (1777-1779), xxiii, 664 pp.; Vol. 3 (1779-1780), xxxiii, 672 pp. $10 per volume.

On July 4, 1951, the United States will celebrate the 175th anniversary of the signing of the Declaration of Independence by dedicating the Independence National Historical Park in Philadelphia to the nation. It should also be an occasion for national rejoicing that a great monument is being erected to its author, Thomas Jefferson. This monument, one of the great ventures in American scholarship, is the publication of the complete writings of Thomas Jefferson. More than 18,000 letters and documents written by Jefferson, and abstracts and texts of more than 25,000 addressed to him, will be included in the projected 52-volume series. These will be published at the rate of approximately four a year. The completed series will illuminate the whole course of American history from the pre-Revolutionary period, through the early Republican era and the age of rapid westward expansion.

Thomas Jefferson, more than any of his contemporaries, had a great sense of history. Living through the crowded years 1743-1826, he played not only a leading role in shaping momentous events, but he left a record of those events that is one of the great legacies to the historian of America's past.

Today, more than ever in America's history, the nation has need for an understanding of those principles upon which the American experiment rested. Thomas Jefferson remains one of their most articulate and brilliant interpreters. So far, each of the three volumes reflects a particular and outstanding contribution of his to the great experiment.

The first volume, covering the years 1760-1776, may easily prove to be the greatest of the entire series. Within this brief span Jefferson developed from an extremely able college youth with a proper concern for fiddling, dancing and fox-hunting, to a philosopher-statesman, who at thirty-two, as John Adams remarked, already possessed, "a reputation for literature, science, and a happy talent of composition." The Congress at Philadelphia made full use of this happy talent, which culminated in his drafting of the Declaration of Independence—one of the great charters of human liberty. The editors of the *Papers* have produced a remarkable documentary study of the genesis and writing of the Declaration, including publication of

what they believe to be the earliest known fragment of its composition draft.

From the triumphs at Philadelphia, Jefferson might well have embarked upon a successful political career on the national scene. Instead, as the record in Volume Two develops, he preferred to return to the red clay hills of his native Albemarle, to serve the state of Virginia in its legislature, and to bring about through legal reform the social revolution contemplated by the Declaration. Serving with his great law teacher, George Wythe, and with Edmund Pendleton as a Committee for the Revisal of the Laws of Virginia, Jefferson gradually effected through the law many of the reforms inherent in his political philosophy. It was characteristic of the man, too, that he assayed a reform not only in the content, but in the form of laws, " which, from their verbosity, their endless tautologies, their involutions of case within case, and parenthesis within parenthesis, and their multiplied efforts at certainty by *saids* and *aforesaids*, by *ors* and by *ands*, to make them more plain do really render them more perplexed and incomprehensible, not only to common readers, but to lawyers themselves."

Of the measures attempted in this period, Jefferson regarded the Statute of Virginia for Religious Freedom a contribution to his country of equal importance with the drafting of the Declaration of Independence and the founding of the University of Virginia. Upon reading the long list of other reforms, including the abolition of primogentiture and entails, the effort to abolish slavery, or the bill for proportioning crimes and punishments, one is impressed with the scope and vitality of this legal revolution. It was, as Jefferson said, not a deprivation of right that had previously existed, but an enlargement of it. The Bill for the more General Diffusion of Knowledge has a preamble, which for felicitous prose, and underlying and fundamental belief in the inherent worth of the individual ranks well with the statement of the inalienable rights of man. It was a considered attempt to substitute an aristocracy of intelligence and virtue for one of wealth and position.

Volume Three stands as a documentary refutation of the charge that as war governor of Virginia Jefferson was weak, cowardly and inefficient. In a sense, it is a dull volume, dealing as it does with the minutiae of the problems confronting the governor of a state threatened by land invasion on two sides, and with a hostile enemy off its shores. Here, again, Jefferson surmounted mounds of paper work—compiling militia returns; trying to support a feeble Continental currency; signing paroles; dealing with Indian uprising, privateers, Loyalists, the Board of Trade and the Board of War. The record is enhanced, however, by the human quality of the man—the kindness shown the Hessian and British prisoners quartered in Albemarle and the beginnings of two valued friendships, with James Madison and James Monroe.

In fact, one agrees with Jefferson, that " the letters of a person, especially one whose business has been chiefly transacted by letters, form the only full and genuine journal of his life, . . ." This being the case the world of Jeffersonian scholarship can look forward with pleasure to forthcoming volumes to reveal the life and philosophy of one of America's most

versatile geniuses. But to even the most unlearned there is a thrilling and not to be forgotten message from the man who ended his life with a reaffirmation of the principle to which he had pledged his life, his fortune and his sacred honor a half century before: " May it be to the world, what I believe it will be (to some parts sooner, to others later, but finally to all), the signal for arousing men to burst the chains under which monkish ignorance and superstition had persuaded them to bind themselves, and to assume the blessings and security of free government. . . . "

HELEN DUPREY BULLOCK

National Council for Historic Sites and Buildings.

Archives of Maryland. [*Volume*] *LXIV.* (Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly of Maryland, October, 1773, to April, 1774 (32)). Edited by ELIZABETH MERRITT. Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1947. xxxiii, 462 pp. $3. (To members of the Society, $2.)

Last October the volume under review, issued with a 1947 imprint, was released to the public. The neglect which a four-year-old date line on a 64th volume will undoubtedly call forth is entirely undeserved, because the volume is not only one in that monumental set of the official records of colonial Maryland, but also has in it many items of special interest that will recommend it to the amateur as well as to the professional historian, who might properly be frightened if he had to preface his reading of this tome by a study of the 63 preceding ones. This volume, the 64th in one series and the 32nd in another, is the record of the proceedings and acts of the two final pre-Revolutionary sessions of the Maryland Assembly. As such, it tells an interesting story on its own.

In the broad view, what strikes one most forcibly about the Maryland of 1773 and 1774 is that it was by no means a colony big with revolution, but rather a state full of the problems of peace: drunkenness at Easter, game preservation, road building, poor houses, churches, education, a market in Baltimore, a lighthouse on Cape Henry, commerce, finance, building, music, art. It takes the hindsight of the historian even to read a revolutionary significance into the friendly compliance of the Maryland Assembly with Virginia's request to appoint a Committee of Correspondence. There is no single reference in these 462 pages to arms or a militia.

Of the colonial Maryland problems of peace, there are amusing parallels with our own day. It is not too much to say that Maryand in 1773 nationalized her tobacco industry. The background of this act (pp. 151-192) from the 1740's on, is not of course traced in this volume, except in the introduction, but the unsuccessful effort of one state with free and irresponsible farmers to compete in a free market with the controlled agriculture of a neighboring state is illuminating. The line between collective bargaining and socialized control was not clear even in 1773.

Another legislative problem that is fresh in the minds of a present-day

reader is a state's distribution of capital to finance labor. The Maryland Assembly of 1773 had no such high-sounding name as a Reconstruction Finance Corporation, but let anyone who doubts read the "Act for emitting Bills of Credit," pp. 242-253, if he wants to see whether the present federal government has something new under the sun.

One scarcely needs, on the occasion of a 64th volume in one of the monumental archival sets, to comment on the editorial excellence of such a work. If it is deficient in this volume, it is in such minutiae as satisfying a reader's natural curiosity in finding out whether Maryland still owns the Peale portrait of the Earl of Chatham which the State acquired in so interesting a manner in 1774; or in discovering whether the Seminary of Learning ever amounted to anything. Textually, the transcription is in the best tradition of historical scholarship: one of "Chinese faithfulness" to the manuscript. Unfortunately the best tradition of historical scholarship in textual transmission is still somewhat short of the practices current in literary scholarship,[1] else the copy-text for the statutes might have been the printed rather than the manuscript version, thus possibly sparing the reader from "Magesty" (p. 154), "forciably" (p. 183), "it shall it arise" (p. 250), etc.

Users should be warned that the extensive index is a name, place, and title affair, with almost no effort at subject indexing at all. Such cross-references as "Almshouses. See Overseer of the Alms, Poor Relief, Trustees of the Poor," "Archives. See Public Records," "Churches. See also Pews, and names of churches," "Copper. See State House," "Corporal Punishment. See Lashes," "Finance. See Accounts, Bank, Currency, Coins," and many similar ones may prove useful to anyone interested. They will, at least, serve to show some of the limitations of the index as it stands.

[The Peale portrait was acquired and still hangs in the State House. A college for the Eastern Shore (Washington College) was established in 1782, and one for the Western Shore (St. John's College) was established in 1784. "Magesty," "forciably," and "it shall it arise" were corrected to "Majesty," "forcibly," and "as it shall arise" in the printed *Laws of Maryland* (1773).—EDITOR.]

JOHN COOK WYLLIE

University of Virginia.

A Word Geography of the Eastern United States. By HANS KURATH. (Studies in American English 1.) Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1949. xi, 88 pp. + 164 figures. $4.

This work, which, in the opinion of this reviewer, is not only important but very interesting, is announced as the first of a new series of the Linguistic Publications of the University of Michigan Press, to be known

[1] For a summary of the literature, see the leading articles in "Studies in Bibliography," Volume 3, 1950.

as Studies in American English. Printed on the cover is the information that it is based "upon materials systematically collected since 1931 in the linguistic survey of the United States sponsored by the American Council of Learned Societies and directed by Professor Hans Kurath. Trained observers," we are further informed, "have investigated almost every county of the Eastern States, recording on the spot the word usage, pronunciation, and grammatical forms of some 1200 representative speakers from all walks of life." With the information so gathered it has been possible "to delineate the major speech areas and subareas of the Eastern States, and to relate them to geographical and historical data."

Following the introduction and the test are 164 "figures" or full-page maps (counting as two figures 5a and 5b)—the *Word Geography* proper. Figure 1 shows what is meant by "Eastern United States." Figures 2 and 4-43 show boundaries or isoglosses for "individual regional words." Figures 44-163, by means of divers signs, show localities where certain particular words and expressions have been found to be in current use. Figure 3 shows the major speech areas of the Eastern United States, namely, the North, the Midland, and the South, the boundaries of which have been determined by means of the isoglosses of more than four hundred different words treated in the text. Figure 3 also shows six subdivisions for the North Speech Area; seven for the Midland; five for the Southern. Maryland, it seems, falls within two major speech areas, the Midland and the Southern, which are divided by a line running from the Potomac, about mid-way between Harper's Ferry and Washington, D. C., through Baltimore, to the Atlantic Ocean below Dover in Delaware.

It now becomes our duty to point out a few small and unimportant flaws in this monumental work: *Chickaree* (never, in my experience, *chickary*), as any American dictionary will tell you, is a common name for the American red squirrel. Its application to the ground squirrel or chipmunk must be ascribed, not to local usage, but to ignorance. Speaking only with authority as to local usage for the Eleventh District of Baltimore County, this reviewer feels compelled to say that he never heard any other word for the mock serenade which country people commonly tender to newly wedded couples but the word *calathumpian*; but, according to *A Word Geography*, we Baltimore Countians are supposed to have heard it called *tin-panning*. In my family we said *bonny-clabber*, never clabber or *clabbered milk*. Curds were called *curd*. On the other hand I am not a little astonished at the accuracy with which the *Word Geography* has noted as key words some of our local word usages which are not found a little farther south: We say *snake-feeder* for dragon fly, *hay mow* instead of hay loft, *corn husks* for corn shucks, *sook-sook-soockie* to cows, and *a little piece down the road*.

[See reviewer's commentary on Maryland word usage on pp. 124-136.—EDITOR.]

WILLIAM B. MARYE

The Works of Colonel John Trumbull. Artist of the American Revolution. By THEODORE SIZER. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1950. xvii, 117 pp. $5.

John Trumbull's unique position as Revolutionary officer, aide de camp to Washington, and painter extraordinary of the battle scenes of the American struggle for independence, has earned him a special place in the history of American art. As Theodore Sizer says, he has been one of "the creators of the visual symbols of an epoch."

Sizer's book, *The Works of Colonel John Trumbull*, the result of many years of research, some of which has already been published in fragmentary form, gives us the first authoritative study of the artistic production of Trumbull. This book, together with the re-publication of the artist's autobiography, which Sizer is editing, will constitute a definitive study of the life and art of Trumbull.

The present work is in the nature of a *catalogue raisonné*, useful as a reference book rather than as a study of the artist, although the introduction contains a brief biographical sketch.

The main part of the book embodies a carefully checked chronology of the works of Trumbull, a check list of his known and authentic paintings, some 46 illustrations of his most important works, and keys to the identification of the personages appearing in his historical paintings. In addition there are short sections on Trumbull's technique, his prices, and his little-known activity as an architect.

The book is attractively printed, though the quality of some of the illustrations is not good. Altogether, Sizer is to be congratulated on having accomplished so much within such a modest scope.

CHRISTOPHER GRAY

The Johns Hopkins University.

American Processional 1492-1900. Washington: National Capital Sesquicentennial Commission, 1950. 270 pp. $3.

This book is much more than a well-documented catalogue of an exhibition at the Corcoran Gallery of Art of 311 paintings and prints of American people and the major events of their past. It is a social history to which the catalogue of items and even the 200-odd illustrations are quite subordinate. As organized and written by Hermann Warner Williams, Jr. and Elizabeth McCausland the book opens with Mr. Williams' overture, *Eyes on America*, to Miss McCausland's *Processional* in six parts. Here Miss McCausland's fine prose beats out a pounding rhythm of the nation's energy in work and war and play, a prose poem far more exciting than the pictures for which it was composed. The exhibition did include a few works of art but the principle of selection was that of illustration for a pictorial record, not an art show. For this reason it is the more surprising that only one photograph was admitted. The choice of personages

and events is very broad but very nearly ignores the intensely American character of the farmhouse, the racing gig, and the clipper ship which so deeply impressed Horatio Greenough on his return from Italy. Nevertheless, there is an excellent balance between the economic and social problems on the one hand and the better known records of American wars on the other. This helps to make the book a substantial contribution to American history.

ELEANOR PATTERSON SPENCER

Goucher College.

A Short History of American Painting. By JAMES THOMAS FLEXNER. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1950. ix, 118 pp. $2.

This is a truly short history. A broad knowledge of American life and art is distilled into 110 small pages devoted largely to the work of fifty-one artists and illustrated by one example for each, only Copley appearing twice. Four are in color. The quality of reproductions is good but limited to an average scale of about three by four inches.

The author has avoided the danger of boiling history down to the bare facts and dates. His previous books, especially *America's Old Masters*, prove him to be a warm and lively narrator able to bring to life the human being behind the painting, thus helping us to establish an intimacy with the pictures. This talent is given less scope in his new volume which makes two main contributions. The first is as a primer for those who are now beginning to explore our own artistic heritage and contemporary painting. Since it is also published in a truly inexpensive paper-bound edition, it should introduce many to a new interest. Secondly, it will help those whose experience is scattered between separate periods and styles to fit them into a single drama which here unfolds at a sitting against its background of history and changing culture.

The author's major thesis is one which combats two of the most persistent prejudices standing in the way of a fuller appreciation of American art. He finds that artists and public alike fall into three groups, and that the best, Stuart, Innes, and Prendergast, for instance, are among those who are neither overwhelmed by the authority of European tradition and a sense of national inferiority, nor are made to reject invaluable sources of culture and technical skill by an excessive local pride. America's struggle to learn what Europe had to teach while applying that knowledge without prejudice to a true expression of her own life is the unifying dramatic theme of the book.

MICHAEL H. MURRAY

The Johns Hopkins University.

Commerce and Conquest in East Africa. By CYRUS TOWNSEND BRADY, JR. Salem: The Essex Institute, 1950. xxi, 245 pp. $3.50.

During the early years of the 19th century sailing vessels out of Salem, Massachusetts, trading with the Azores and the Mediterranean, Mauritius and Bombay, with Sumatra for pepper and Canton for tea, made the port one of the most important communities in the United States. "The citizens of this little town," wrote one of her historians, "were dispatched to every port of the Oriental world, and to every nook of barbarism which had a market and a shore." This volume gives particular reference to the Salem trade with Zanzibar.

The Salem trade with Zanzibar began in 1826 just as Salem, owing to the competition of steam boats, the rising port of New York, and the lack of a suitable export, began to decline in importance as a major American port. The East African trade of Salem, carried chiefly in sailing vessels, lasted throughout most of the nineteenth century. Cloves and coconut products, ivory and miscellaneous items, in this order, were the chief imports; while cotton textiles constituted the bulk of the exports. So prominent was American cotton cloth in East Africa that the cloth, calico, was and is still known as "amerikani."

This interesting and informative volume first cursorily traces the historical pattern of occidental trade with Zanzibar, concentrating on the American; then the author examines the trade and commerce conducted by Zanzibar merchants, Arabs, throughout Africa. In doing this he relates many interesting tales and sympathetic personal observations of life and activities in Africa. He acquaints the reader, for example, with the career of Charles Chaillé Long, a Marylander, who rose from private to captain of the 11th Maryland Volunteers in the Civil War and who ended his career as an important African explorer, a Colonel and Bey in the service of the Khedive of Egypt.

Cyrus Townsend Brady, Jr., a civil engineer by profession, a camera enthusiast and writer by avocation, has presented the vast army of armchair admirals and explorers an exciting account of *Commerce and Conquest in East Africa* from classical antiquity to the present day.

RICHARD LOWITT

University of Maryland.

Famous American Marines. By CHARLES LEE LEWIS. Boston: L. C. Page, 1950. xxi, 375 pp. $3.75.

The author of this volume is no newcomer to the field of biography and to military biography in particular. Charles Lee Lewis, longtime professor of English and History at the United States Naval Academy, has written excellent biographies of Farragut, Decatur, Maury, Franklin Buchanan, and De Grasse, and he published in the mid-20's *Famous American Naval Officers.* He is eminently familiar with the raw materials which go into the making of good biographies.

Famous American Marines is a volume of brief sketches of eighteen Marines ranging from Samuel Nicholas of Revolutionary War fame to Vandegrift, "Howlin' Mad" Smith, and Roy S. Geiger of World War II renown. Each sketch is complete in itself and may, therefore, be read independently if desired, or something of a general history of the Marine Corps may be obtained from a complete reading of all eighteen sketches. For those sketches Professor Lewis has drawn his material from a variety of sources, both primary and secondary, and that he has been skillful in presenting an accurate and vivid portrait of each Marine is constantly obvious.

This is not a profound study requiring that the reader be an expert in either military history or even in American history. Much of the information deals with blood and thunder, or the "above the call of duty" themes, or "my country, right or wrong" events. Rarely is the author critical of his subjects who usually triumph over a dastardly adversary and emerge heroes and defenders of "Old Glory" and all of her wonderful attributes. Although anyone may read this volume with profit, surely those who will enjoy it most will be the growing adolescents who long to pattern their own careers after some genuine, red-blooded American hero. This is by no means meant to be a criticism of Professor Lewis' achievement; rather should he be praised for providing us with this historical material which would be virtually inaccessible elsewhere.

The volume contains pen sketches of each Marine, a short bibliography, and a useful index. Of particular value is an introductory sketch outlining in brief detail the origin of the Marines as a fighting force.

ROBERT M. LANGDON

U. S. Naval Academy.

The Sheet Iron Steamboat CODORUS. *John Elgar and the First Metal Hull Vessel Built in the United States.* By ALEXANDER CROSBY BROWN. (Museum Publication No. 21. Extract from *The American Neptune*, Vol. X, No. 3, July, 1950.) Newport News, Va.: The Mariner's Museum, 1950. 30 pp. $.75.

The absorbing pastime of claiming historic "firsts" is indulged in agreeably and convincingly in this account of America's first sheet iron steam boat and the man who built it. John Elgar, who designed the *Codorus* for use on the Susquehanna, gained some local reputation but was soon nearly forgotten. For decades others have been credited with constructing the first iron-hulled boat in America. Good use of source materials helps this attractive pamphlet to achieve the aim of placing the *Codorus* in its proper historical perspective.

William Shippen, Jr., Pioneer in American Medical Education, A Biographical Essay. With Notes, and the Original Text of Shippen's Student Diary, London, 1759-1760; together with a translation of his Edinburgh Dissertation, 1761. By BETSY COPPING CORNER. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1951. xi, 161 pp. $2.75.

Mrs. Corner begins this attractive volume by a brief discussion "introducing William Shippen, Jr." as the first medical lecturer in what is now the United States, and noting the circumstances under which Dr. J. Hall Pleasants of Baltimore discovered some years ago the long-lost diary of Shippen's student days in London (1759, 1760). The diary is then printed in full, with detailed expanatory notes, to which Mrs. Corner adds a biography (divided topically into eight brief chapters), and Dr. George W. Corner appends a translation of Shippen's Edinburgh doctoral thesis of 1761. Dr. Shippen's discourse of 1790 on medical education is also appended.

This somewhat unusual arrangement of materials proves highly effective, since Shippen's brief entries in the diary only serve to arouse curiosity, which Mrs. Corner then satisfies both by thorough notes and by the charming and scholarly biographical chapters which follow. The latter bring to life the varied background of contemporary London and Philadelphia, against which Shippen moved and had his being. Little had been brought together before about Shippen, in contrast to the knowledge available concerning his less reticent colleagues John Morgan and Benjamin Rush. Hence we are indebted here to Mrs. Corner, not only for a most readable narrative, but also for a study which enlarges our understanding of American medicine during the later eighteenth century. Particularly significant is the account of Shippen's major professional achievement—the introduction into this country of serious instruction in anatomy and obstetrics.

RICHARD H. SHRYOCK

The Johns Hopkins University.

Lincoln and the Press. By ROBERT S. HARPER. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1951. xii, 418 pp. $6.

Mr. Harper tells how Abraham Lincoln handled the press and "how the press reacted to him from the day he became a voice in politics until the shot was fired that martyred him." In the Jeffersonian tradition Lincoln would rather have let the hostile journals stand as a monument to the safety with which error might be tolerated when reason stood free to combat it; but in years of passion the President felt obliged to resort to arbitrary measures to preserve the Union. Censorship operated against those suspected of disturbing the public welfare by word and deed; it left

large sections of the community free to criticize civil authorities. Unionist newspapers might reveal military moves; corrosive criticism from Copperhead journals might damage the war effort. Trifling or grave, sins against the common defence frequently placed editors behind bars.

Harper has drawn on secondary sources, newspaper files, and letters presented to the Library of Congress by Robert Todd Lincoln. Lincoln provides the primary portrait as well as the narrative thread. His seems largely a newspaper personality, for the reader sees him through the barrage of conflicting editorials. Harper draws brief but bold sketches of the leading editors in the North. Representative of border state neutralism, George D. Prentice of the *Louisville Journal* belongs to the limbo of unreal causes. The Belials of peace Democracy play on popular dissatisfactions to make the worst appear the better reason. Except for "Parson" Brownlow and Samuel Bowles, most editors supporting the administration seem obtuse when compared with their Copperhead rivals. Since few Republican journalists understood the President, Harper reveals another aspect of the lonely statesman. He succeeds in showing how a hate-inspired press played a part in shaping Booth's bullet; but once it was fired the newspaper world became one in grief. To friend and foe Lincoln alive had been an object of the condescension and defamation; Lincoln dead became the subject of their pious utterances.

Harper presents the rhetoric of Civil War editors against his own neutral style. By skillful selection he highlights double-dealing and the weakness of good intentions. He plunges the reader at once into the action. In the current of events one learns about the techniques of reporting in an age that loved oratory and the tricks of finding a story in a time before the news conference.

Much could have been compressed or omitted. Sometimes the narrative seems lost among the editors and hoaxes. It needs to move below the catch-as-catch-can ring to win a broader range of motivation. The manuscript collections of some of the leading editors and public men might have been used for this purpose. By confining his study exclusively to the war Harper neglects editorial attitudes on reconstruction, monetary problem, and sectionalism in the North. The increase in immigration, the expansion of industry, agriculture, and railroads were important factors in its triumph. They helped to form the total picture of the Civil War. They find no space in *Lincoln and the Press*.

Harper has written an excellent book. Its tone never sinks below forte; its tempo is allegro. One arrives at the last page having spent a season in one of Hell's estates; here everyone yells at the same time, and all is hurly-burly.

WILLIAM QUENTIN MAXWELL

The Muhlenbergs of Pennsylvania. By PAUL A. W. WALLACE. Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1950. 358 pp. $4.

Seven Muhlenbergs were distinguished enough to be included in the *Dictionary of American Biography.* No other German immigrant family in the Middle Atlantic states has produced such an abundance of prominent men. Very justifiedly the author dwells at length on the career of the immigrant, the patriarch of the family, the organizer of the Lutheran Church in the American colonies: Henry Melchior Muhlenberg (1711-1787). The biographies of most of his descendants center around the Lutheran church, yet their activities then branch out into all realms of public life, especially into the army, politics and scholarly pursuits. Paul Wallace evaluates the careers of the second generation, *i. e.* John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg, the general; Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, the first Speaker in the House of the Federal Congress; Gotthilf Henry Ernest Muhlenberg, the eminent botanist and first president of Franklin College. It is to be regretted that the author interrupts his narrative in the first decade of the nineteenth century. It would have been worthwhile to follow up the family history through the nineteenth century. As patriarch of the Lutheran Church, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg was repeatedly called into the first Lutheran congregations in Western Maryland; thus the book has a special interest for the Maryland historian. Though not exhaustive, it is a very readable story of one of the most interesting and public-minded families in 18th century America.

DIETER CUNZ

University of Maryland.

Pennsylvania's Susquehanna. By ELSIE SINGMASTER. Harrisburg, Pa.: J. Horace McFarland Co., 1950. xiv, 236 pp. $6.

Down the years of recorded history the Susquehanna has posed a challenge to mankind. The Indians met it by producing the Susquehannocks ("such great and well-proportioned men," writes Captain John Smith, "are seldom seene, for they seemed like Giants to the English, yea and to the neighbours, yet seemed of an honest and simple disposition"). The white settlers rose to the occasion with heroic figures like Thomas Cresap, who opened the way for the men who developed the magnificent farmlands of the lower valley and released the coal of the North. To bridge the stream, the leading engineers of their day outdid themselves. The mere sound of its name stirred poets and writers to the depths. "When I had asked the name of the river," said Robert Louis Stevenson, who crossed it in an emigrant train in 1879, "and heard it was called the Susquehanna, the beauty of the name seemed to be part and parcel of the beauty of the land. As when Adam with divine fitness named the creatures, so this word Susquehanna was accepted by the fancy. That was the name, as no other could be, for that shining and desirable valley."

All this, and much more, has been recorded with feeling and beauty by Mrs. E. S. Lewars in her recent book *Pennsylvania's Susquehanna.* Better known to the national audience by her maiden name, Elsie Singmaster, she has achieved eminence as a novelist and recorder of Pennsylvania-German folklore, and last year was granted distinguished honors for her quiet effectual work in leavening the political and sociological lump. Through these activities she has come to know Pennsylvania as do few others, and, with her artist's sensitiveness, she is fully equipped to write the great river's saga. Few readers of the book will agree with her appraisal of it as "primarily a collection of photographs"; it can certainly be said, however, that seldom is an author so well served by her illustrators. Particularly fine are the studies of regional flora by the McFarlands of Harrisburg.

Mrs. Lewars' stirring chronicle comes to an end at Mason and Dixon's Line, to the sorrow of those Marylanders who feel that the Susquehanna's grandeur reaches its climax in the last few miles of its course, just before its union with Chesapeake Bay. She would have invested with fresh scholarship and poetry the wild and rocky reaches below Conowingo Bridge, or the impounded lake upstream, beneath which the great rocks, scored with mysterious Indian symbols, await release through the careless twitch of an earthquake or the rollicking jolt of an atomic bomb.

J. GILMAN D'ARCY PAUL

The Forty-Eighters. Edited by A. E. ZUCKER. New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1950. xviii, 379 pp. $4.50.

With the persecutions that followed the German Revolution of 1848, several thousand of the participants fled to the United States to continue their quest for freedom. To commemorate the centennial of their arrival in this country, eleven scholars have joined in this study of the role of these refugees in the development of the United States.

The book is concerned with tracing the European backgrounds and the American experiences of this outstanding group of German-Americans. That *The Forty-Eighters* does not add greatly to historical knowledge is more than offset by the fact that these extremely readable essays are replete with interesting and vital observations on the adjustment of these immigrants to American society. The value of this volume is enhanced by the editor's compilation of short biographies of over 300 Forty-eighters.

Excellent as are most of its component parts, the work as a whole could have undergone a better job of editing. Repetitions occur far too often due to the inadequate correlation of the materials presented by the various contributors. In general, the book is free from factual inaccuracies. However, two glaring errors are to be found in the essay on Carl Schurz by Bayard Morgan. Historians will be interested to discover that Stephen Douglas "was the avowed and uncompromising champion of the slave system (p. 231)," and that Andrew Johnson began his Presidential

tenure as a supporter of Lincoln's reconstruction plan only to shift to a radically different program within a few months (pp. 237-8). Despite these drawbacks, this volume represents an interpretive synthesis that must be read by those who would understand completely American history in the second half of the 19th century.

DONALD R. MCCOY

The American University.

James Harrod of Kentucky. By KATHRYN HARROD MASON. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State Univ. Press, 1951. xxii, 266 pp. $4.

This biography of one of the earliest pioneers in Kentucky, for whom its first permanent white settlement, Harrodsburg, was named, is the biography of a type as well as of a man. Mr. Benét has said it neatly: "The cowards never started and the weak died on the road. . . ." James Harrod of Kentucky—originally James Harrod of Virginia and Pennsylvania—was a soldier, hunter, surveyor, member of the Virginia Assembly as well as of his frontier councils. Obviously there was much more ahead of him. Then at 48 he took another hunting trip—hunting too for the legendary Swift's Silver Mine—and he never returned. He may have been murdered or killed by the Indians; there was a chance he had chosen to disappear; but no one ever knew. The mystery of his death was as great as his life's achievement.

Mrs. Mason in this book, one of the excellent Southern Biography Series, has successfully overcome the circumstances of kinship (which has always the defects of its virtues) and lack of personalized material. The Kentucky pioneer was not one to take his pen in hand. Her research has been careful and extensive and she has written her book interestingly, with clarity and suspense and no sentimentality.

ELLEN HART SMITH

The Manor of Fordham and Its Founder. By HARRY C. W. MELICK. New York: Fordham Univ. Press, 1950. xx, 191 pp. $4.

According to the author's preface this study is a narrative of additions to and corrections of previous manor histories. The author cites much neglected source material, often incorporating whole sections of original records. Mr. Melick succeeds in identifying John Archer, the founder and lord of Fordham manor, and piecing together his history from contemporary documents, Dutch and English, with all their variant spellings of his name. He recounts the early difficulties faced by Archer, principally those involving various claims to the land, and later the disposition of the manor. Leaning heavily on the records of legal entanglements, historically important if tedious reading, Mr. Melick adds facts to theory. While the importance of this book as a contribution to the history of a geographically important area cannot be overlooked, its chief value probably lies in its presentation of source materials.

CATHERINE M. SHELLEY

A New Home for the Sunpapers of Baltimore, Containing a Brief History of the Past 114 Years and a Description of the Modern Production Equipment in the New Plant. Baltimore: [The Sunpapers], 1951. 63 pp.

To commemorate the opening of the new building at Calvert and Centre streets, the Sunpapers recently published this handsome little volume. The history of a great local and national newspaper from its origin as a penny sheet in 1837 to the present is succinctly told. The new building and equipment are described graphically. Noteworthy in this very satisfactory notice of the passing of a milestone in newspaper history are the photographs and illustrations and a Yardley map showing the five locations where the Sunpapers have been published.

Swaine and Drage. A Sequel to Map Maker and Indian Traders. By HOWARD N. EAVENSON. Univ. of Pittsburgh Press, 1950. 23 pp. (Distributed without charge to purchasers of *Map Maker and Indian Traders.*)

However conscientious and thorough a scholar attempts to be, he may discover significant source material only days after the publication of a monograph to which he has devoted years of preparation. Such was Mr. Eavenson's experience following the publication in 1949 of *Map Maker and Indian Traders* (reviewed by Lloyd A. Brown in *Maryland Historical Magazine*, XLV [June, 1950], 143-144). Fortunately, the University of Pittsburgh Press has solved the problem by publishing in this small pamphlet the author's account of the discovery in England of a letter written by Theodorus Swaine Drage and a critical edition of the letter.

Golden Days. By A. W. W. WOODCOCK. Salisbury, Md.: Privately printed, 1951. 244 pp. $2.

General Woodcock is spending his leisure in a most useful and entertaining way by writing the experience of his varied and fruitful life. He has been a teacher, a successful lawyer, so successful a United States district attorney that President Hoover appointed him Prohibition Administrator, and for a time president of St. John's College, his alma mater.

All of these are vocations, but in his avocation of citizen soldier he was just as outstanding because he worked with the same will, earnestness, and desire to serve. *Golden Days* is the story of soldiering from the "third battle" of Bull Run (1904) to the triumphal return in 1919 of the experienced soldiers of the Maryland National Guard from their distinguished service in France during World War I. In these pages the author has woven an engaging story of a wide range of personalities in the First Regiment and the entire Maryland National Guard. His telling about a funny incident, a ribald conversation, an occasion of pathos and sentiment

is done well in a generous, smooth-running style that makes putting the book down difficult.

The volume, a work of love, takes its place without apology among the many regional histories of Maryland's important organizations and identifies its versatile author as accomplished in another field—that of entertaining raconteur.

CARLYLE R. EARP

Baltimore and Early Pan-Americanism. A Study in the Background of the Monroe Doctrine. By LAURA BORNHOLDT. (Smith College Studies in History, Vol. XXXIV.) Northampton, Mass.: Smith College, 1949. vii, 152 pp. $2.

As a commercial, cosmopolitan, and liberal city in the early decades of the 19th century, it was natural that Baltimore should have played a prominent part in the Hispanic American movement for independence and early Pan-Americanism. Public opinion, insofar as it was formed, was sympathetic toward the political aspirations of our southern neighbors, and Baltimoreans hoped to gain a share of the Spanish American commercial inheritance from Spain.

Baltimoreans did not confine their hopes and activities to legitimate channels, however. In the face of the neutrality laws of the United States, they welcomed and gave comfort to agents from rebellious Spanish America, propogandized their story, provided them with funds, ships, and materiel, and outfitted privateers which were supposed to prey upon Spanish commerce, but which were not always so discriminate.

In this scholarly and well-written volume, the author has developed these and many more facets of this romantic and significant story of Baltimore and early Pan-Americanism. All are well integrated with the larger pictures of the domestic and international scene. One might hope for similar studies of other Atlantic seaboard cities on this subject.

JAMES S. CUNNINGHAM

Goucher College.

OTHER BOOKS RECEIVED

A History of the Society of the Maryland Society of Colonial Dames of America. Compiled by MARY F. PRINGLE FENHAGEN. [Baltimore: 1951.] 48 pp.

A Plan for Peace. By GRENVILLE CLARK. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950. 83 pp.

NOTES AND QUERIES

NEW LIGHT ON WILLIAM BUCKLAND

By JAMES BORDLEY, JR.

There is a tradition in Annapolis that many of its fine Colonial homes were designed and built by William Buckland who was brought from England in 1755 to design and build Gunston Hall, the beautiful home of George Mason in Virginia. Buckland moved from Virginia to Annapolis in 1771 and lived there until his death in 1774. An entry in the account book of the executor of Edward Lloyd, 3rd, shows that Buckland was transacting business in Maryland before his removal to Annapolis. The entry referred to is the payment to Buckland on November 1, 1771, by Colonel Lloyd's executors: "To Sundrys Bot at Vendue 1/14/8 1/2." Colonel Lloyd died on January 20, 1770.

The Buckland tradition was given emphasis by R. T. H. Halsey in the Foreword of the first volume of *Great Georgian Houses in America* (New York, 1933-1937) where he attributed to Buckland the Chase, Hammond-Harwood, Brice, Paca, Ridout, and Scott homes in Annapolis and Whitehall in the nearby country. Mr. Halsey's attributions were not based on documentary evidence but upon the architectural books in Buckland's library and the similarity of unusual architectural features in Gunston Hall, the Annapolis homes, and Honington Hall, an English home some twenty miles from Oxford where Buckland spent his early life. He suggested it possible Buckland helped in the redecoration of Honington Hall between 1750 and 1755. The similarities are striking, but it is difficult to believe that in his three years residence in Annapolis Buckland could have designed and built all of the houses attributed to him.

Mr. J. Donnell Tilghman presented through the *Maryland Historical Magazine,* XXXIII (1938), 23-26, the cost account of Samuel Chase in the building of the Chase House. This account is itemized, and in no entry of expense is Buckland mentioned. It is interesting that Mr. Chase (like George Mason) imported a builder from London, a Mr. Scott, who kept a book of costs, both labor and materials. It can be assumed Mr. Chase sought the services of a "master builder" to design and build his home, hence the importation of Mr. Scott who, as the account shows, worked on the building for the two years Mr. Chase financed the operations. Mr. Tilghman concluded that Mr. Chase built his home and sold it before the interior was decorated. In this conclusion the account books of Edward Lloyd, 4th, show him to be entirely correct.

Mr. Chase sold the house in July, 1771, to Edward Lloyd, 4th, for "Five Hundred and Four Pounds, Sterling of Great Britain and Two

Thousand, Four Hundred and Ninety-one Pounds, Seventeen Shillings and Seven Pence, Current." On the sale he made a profit of £250.

Through the courtesy of Mrs. Henry Morgan (Elizabeth Lloyd) Schiller, the present mistress of Wye House, her ancestral home, this writer was given an opportunity to inspect the "Memorandum Book" and ledger, recently found, of her ancestor, Col. Edward Lloyd, 4th. The entries of indebtedness to Buckland clearly show his activities in the decoration of the Chase House and the cost of the work to Col. Lloyd. The entries are spread through the years 1771-1774. The first entry is for work and materials from December 22, 1771, to July 1, 1772; the last entry for Buckland shows cash paid "to Tracey Garland P[er] order [£] 6" on March 12, 1774. When the latter payment was made it is clear from other entries that Colonel Lloyd was occupying the house. The entries total the sum of 509/4/6 Sterling of which Colonel Lloyd had paid Buckland by April 26, 1773, 287/4/4, leaving a balance due of 222/2/0. When this balance was paid is not shown in the ledger examined, but as there was a second ledger for the same period, not yet discovered, it was probably posted there. Of particular interest are the entries of payments to Buckland on April 26, 1773, which are shown below:

By Carving the chimney peice in little room below	3/10/0
By ditto ditto ditto ditto above	2/10/0
By ditto in the room over the diningroom	3/
By ditto the cornice over the rear door	1/10/0
By Workman's Wages getting ready & putt[g] up the work in the diningroom	72/ 9/10 1/2
By carving in the dining room as P[er] Account	62/ /6
By sundry materials for the diningroom P[er] Account	2/ 2/ 4 1/2
By 500 [wt] Stucco borrowed of M[r] [William] Paca	3/ 2/ 6
By 1 Month and 20 days wages from the 30th August 1773 till the 10th November following at 60[£] Sterl[g] 66 2/3 P[er] C[en]t	£287/ 4/ 4
By Balance due W[m] Buckland D[r] P[er] Contra	222/ 2

There is an entry in the ledger which suggests Colonel Lloyd visited Buckland in Annapolis to consult with him on the purchase and completion of the Chase House. The item reads: "April 26, 1773 paid Buckland by expence of Self & Horse when I purchased New House 3/10/0." In addition to the work on the Chase House the Colonel paid Buckland £2 for "working & carving the Astragals for the Porthole of the Schooner."

These entries in Colonel Lloyd's account books transform Buckland from an almost legendary figure in Annapolis into an active participant in the decoration of one of its beautiful homes.

Readbourne—The issue of June, 1950, pertaining to "Readbourne" was of tremendous interest to all who know this fine home. Granted that it is truly a magnificent structure, I wonder if Mr. Waterman quite did justice to two other Maryland mansions in his statement that Mr. Fannestock's house (is) ". . . the earliest and finest of Maryland mansions . . ." (P. 98). He states on the following page: "This is the earliest arched doorway in American domestic architecture, according to the distinguished authority, Fiske Kimball."

I believe those who know "His Lordship's Kindness" near Clinton and "Harmony Hall" (Battersea) at Broad Creek would question the first statement. Both are as old as "Readbourne" and certainly "His Lordship's Kindness"—perhaps "Harmony Hall," as well—would have as much appeal to a considerable group. There is an arched doorway at the old Darnall house on the west side, leading to the boxwood garden, which might predate "Readbourne's" by as much as five years. Minor points, to be sure, and not submitted to be controversial, but rather as provocative for those who may not know two of Prince Georges County's more superb homes.

James C. Wilfong,
725 13th Street, Washington 5, D. C.

Sanitary Commission—I am working on the United States Sanitary Commission, a forerunner of the Red Cross in the Civil War. Letters revealing the nature and extent of the work of the Commission in Maryland would be both helpful and illuminating. Manuscripts relating the lives and opinions of individuals in that period would also be appreciated.

William Quentin Maxwell,
1 West Franklin Street, Baltimore 1.

South River Club—The Historical Committee of the South River Club is endeavoring to collect data on its early history, particularly for the period before 1740. One of the interesting things about the Club is that no one knows when it was founded, for in 1740 the Club House burned and the minute books and other records were destroyed.

If any reader of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* knows of any old letters or other records that contain references to the Club or its early members, the committee will be grateful if he will communicate with them by writing or calling the Chairman, Thomson King, Director, Maryland Academy of Sciences, Enoch Pratt Library Building, MU 2370.

Carrico—Carrico genealogical research has resulted in my accumulation of extensive amount of material concerning the Carrico, Preston, Burcham, Hays, Gates, and White families. This data is at the disposal of anyone interested at no cost. Will welcome correspondence with persons interested in these lines.

Col. Homer E. Carrico,
6703 Country Club Circle, Dallas 14, Texas.

Sanders—Wotring—Thomas—Information concerning the following is requested: Ancestors of Hiram Sanders, who moved from Md., probably Wash. Co., in 1810, to Preston Co., W. Va. He was middle aged at that time. Ancestors of John Abraham Wotring and his wife Margaret Troxell Wotring, who moved from Hagerstown to Preston Co., W. Va. in 1788. Ancestors and descendants of brothers Alexander, Wm., and Lewis Thomas, who came from Wales in colonial days, probably settling in Delaware first. Gen. Geo. H. Thomas of Union Army descendant of Lewis.

Eldon B. Tucker, Jr.,
617 Grand Street, Morgantown, W. Va.

CONTRIBUTORS

MR. MORGAN, a member of the Department of History at Brown University, is preparing a definitive account of the Stamp Act controversy. ☆ The first three volumes of MR. BRANT'S monumental life of James Madison have already appeared. ☆ MR. CLARK, a native of the Eastern Shore and a graduate of Washington College, is Senior Assistant, Manuscripts, in the Alderman Library of the University of Virginia. ☆ On the faculty of Western Illinois State College since 1948, MR. HARLEY made extensive use of original records in Annapolis and Baltimore in the preparation of his doctoral dissertation entitled, "The Land System in Colonial Maryland," which was accepted by the State University of Iowa. ☆ MR. BARBEE, a frequent contributor to scholarly journals and the public press, has made an extensive study of the Lincoln Papers in the Library of Congress. ☆ Corresponding Secretary of the Society, MR. MARYE is a careful student of Maryland speech and has contributed to the *Magazine* on many previous occasions.
